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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

VOL. XIX.

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CONTENTS

OF

VOL. XIX. — THIRD SERIES, VOL. I.

No. I.

ART. I. — Christian Ethics, or Moral Philosophy on the Principle of Divine Revelation. By RALPH WARDLAW, D. D. From the Second London Edition, with an Introductory Essay, by LEONARD WOODS, D. D. - - - 1

ART. II. — State of Religion in Germany. - - - 41

ART. III. — Female Convents. Secrets of Nunneries Disclosed. Compiled from the Autograph Manuscripts of Scipio de' Ricci, Roman Catholic Bishop of Pistoia and Prato. By M. DE POTTER. Edited by THOMAS ROSCOE. With an Introductory Essay and Appendix. - - - 54

ART. IV. — A Memoir of James Jackson, Jr., M. D. With Extracts from his Letters to his Father; and Medical Cases, collected by him. By JAMES JACKSON, M. D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in Harvard University; and Physician of the Massachusetts General Hospital. 83

ART. V. — An Address delivered before the Ministerial Conference in Berry Street, May 27th, 1835. - - - 98

ART. VI. — Lectures on the Doctrines of Christianity, in Controversy between Unitarians and other Denominations of Christians. Delivered in the First Independent Church of Baltimore. By GEORGE W. BURNAP. - - 109

ART. VII. — Trial of the Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher for Heresy. Reported for "The New York Observer." - - 116

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE. — Peabody's Springfield Collection of Hymns for Sacred Worship. — Worcester's Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary. — Memoirs of a New-England Village Choir. - - - 133

No. II.

ART. I. — Review of the Argument in Support of Natural Religion. A Dudleian Lecture, delivered in the Chapel of the University in Cambridge, May 13th, 1835. By JOHN BRAZER. - - - - - - - 137

ART. II. — The Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the Year. - - 162

ART. III. — Johann Gottfried von Herder's Sämmtliche Werke Zur Religion und Theologie. Herausgegeben durch JOHANN GEORG MÜLLER. — The Complete Works of J. G. HERDER. On Religion and Theology. - - 172

ART. IV. — Specimens of Table-Talk of the late SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. - - - - - - 204

ART. V. — Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, read at the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting, held in the City of Utica, October 8th, 9th, and 10th, 1834. 215

ART. VI. — Philip Van Artevelde: A Dramatic Romance, in Two Parts. By HENRY TAYLOR, Esq. - - 245

ART. VII. — A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales. By ANDREW REED, D. D., and JAMES MATHESON, D. D. - - - - - 257

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE. — The Western Messenger; devoted to Religion and Literature. — Records of a School: Exemplifying the General Principles of Spiritual Culture. — Bigelow's Sermon at the Interment of the Rev. Pitt Clarke. To which is added an Appendix, containing Extracts from the Diary of the Deceased. - - - - 269

No. III.

ART. I. — Whether the Deity of the Messiah be a Doctrine of the Old Testament. - - - - - 273

ART. II. — Observations on the Influence of Religion upon the Health and Physical Welfare of Mankind. By AMARIAH BRIGHAM, M. D. - - - - - 302

ART. III. — The Boston Book; being Specimens of Metropolitan Literature, Occasional and Periodical. - - 314

ART. IV. — Sermons on Various Subjects, chiefly Practical. By ROBERT ASPLAND, Minister of New Gravel-pit Chapel, Hackney. - - - - - - 321

ART. V. — 1. Songs of the Affections, with other Poems. By FELICIA HEMANS.
2. National Lyrics and Songs for Music. By FELICIA HEMANS.
3. Scenes and Hymns of Life, with other Religious Poems. By FELICIA HEMANS.
4. The Poetical Works of Mrs. FELICIA HEMANS: Complete in One Volume. With a Critical Preface.
5. The Poetical Works of Mrs. HEMANS, Complete. - 328

ART. VI. — A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land. By ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE, Member of the French Academy. - 362

ART. VII. — Yarrow Revisited, and other Poems. By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. - - - - - 375

ART. VIII. — A Sermon preached in King's Chapel, November 22d, 1835, the Sunday after the Funeral of the Rev. James Freeman, D. D. By F. W. P. GREENWOOD, surviving Minister of King's Chapel. - - - - 383

ART. IX. — The Balance of Scriptural Evidence on Trinitarianism and Unitarianism. By FRANCIS KNOWLES. - 394

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE. — Reprint of the early English Versions of the New Testament — Mr. Brooks's Discourse at the Interment of the Rev. Jacob Flint. — The Christian Connexion. — Greenwood's Lives of the Apostles. — Prison Discipline Society's Report. — Professor Follen's Interlinear Translation of Luther's Gospel of St. John. - 396

INDEX - - - - - - - - 405

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

No. LXX.

THIRD SERIES — No. I.

SEPTEMBER, 1835.

ART. I. — *Christian Ethics, or Moral Philosophy on the Principle of Divine Revelation.* By RALPH WARDLAW, D. D. From the second London Edition, with an Introductory Essay, by LEONARD WOODS, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Boston: William Peirce. 1835. 12mo. pp. 380.

THIS is the very book which we have long wished to see. For we have long been convinced that there is a question connected with the Calvinistic controversy, more important than all others, going beyond all others, and that is nothing less than a question about the essential principles and grounds of right and wrong. What *is* rectitude? And what are the principles on which we are to arrive at the knowledge of it? These are the questions, which Dr. Wardlaw has undertaken to discuss in the work before us. And what now, do our readers suppose, is the legitimate theory of Calvinism on the subject of morals? Why, truly, that human nature, which has always been supposed to be both the subject of moral philosophy and its investigator, is neither one nor the other; that it neither furnishes the *facts* on which a just theory of morals can be built up, nor contains the *power* that is able to discriminate among any facts, so as to arrive at a safe conclusion. Human nature is totally depraved; therefore it furnishes no data for a moral theory. Its very conscience is perverted; the very labors of conscience in its own appropriate sphere, that of moral philosophy, have resulted in error; and in such serious, wide-spread, universal error, that it cannot be trusted, as

a principle to decide between right and wrong. "It is preposterous," says Dr. Wardlaw, "to commit the decision of an inquiry respecting the true principles of moral rectitude, to a creature subject to all the blinding and perverting influences of moral pravity."

Such is, substantially, Dr. Wardlaw's theory, though his adherence to it is not quite so unflinching as we had expected to find it. He admits that there is some dim light of conscience left in human nature. But that light is put out by a single consideration, to which we beg our readers to attend with us for one moment. The Calvinistic doctrine, be it remembered, is, that mankind are totally depraved, that human nature, in its ordinary state and in the mass of mankind, is not a mixture of good and evil, but that it is unmixed evil; that there is *nothing truly* good in it. Now it is notorious, that men in all ages and among all nations, have been accustomed to make, what they have called, moral discriminations; to pronounce some things bad, and other things good, in the character of their fellow beings. But this judgment, according to the Calvinistic theory, has been a total mistake. Conscience has been as much depraved as any other part of human nature. It has been worse than an unsafe or defective guide; it has been the grand arch-deceiver of the world; leading mankind in all ages to suppose there was good, where there really was no good whatsoever.

It will be perceived that we use the word *conscience* here for the faculty of moral discrimination in general, though that word is usually restricted in its application, so as to designate only the judgments we pronounce upon ourselves. The power, however, which morally discriminates good from evil, must be essentially the same, whether it is applied to ourselves or others. But now, we repeat, according to the Calvinistic theory, this moral discrimination is utterly at fault; it is entitled to no confidence whatever. Its judgment about right and wrong is a mere pretence, a mere farce. Its very use of terms, its very nomenclature, has been a succession of blunders from the creation of the world to this day. There is really no such thing as right and wrong among the *mass* of mankind. All is wrong, and nothing but wrong. The complexion of human nature is nothing but black; and the eye, that has fancied it saw white spots and various intermingled hues, has been totally deceived. And after ten thousands and millions of

such mistakes, that eye, the moral eye in man, is not to be trusted at all.

Now moral philosophy, in utter disregard of these remonstrances of Calvinism, has built up its theories on the basis of human nature. It has taken, analyzed, and classified the facts of human nature, — that is to say, human feelings, passions, desires; it has pronounced some things in human nature to be right; it has held itself competent to decide *which* are right and *which* are wrong, and thus to establish principles of duty, to show that some things ought to be done, and others avoided. But here Calvinism and moral philosophy are at issue. And it is the object of the first part of Dr. Wardlaw's work to plead the cause of Calvinism against all the systems of moral philosophy in the world. He passes them in review, the systems of Aristotle, of Zeno, and of Epicurus, and the modern ones of Cudworth, Adam Smith, Dr. Hutcheson, Dr. Brown, Hume, and Bishop Butler; and, because they have not recognised the Calvinistic view of human depravity, he pronounces them essentially defective and wrong.

It is not our intention to follow Dr. Wardlaw through the several parts of his work. We are at too great a distance from him, to make it a question of much interest here, whether or not he has done himself credit as a philosopher or as a reasoner. Our chief business is with the main question, Whether the doctrine of total depravity is to overthrow all our moral theories, and to unsettle the very grounds of moral truth. But we cannot help observing, that Dr. Wardlaw seems to us to have been neither steady to his main point, nor just to the systems he attacks, nor very discriminating with regard to those claims of the Bible which he undertakes to set up. *If* human nature be totally depraved, then, indeed, the moral theories are *all* wrong, *totally* wrong. This main point and the main inference, the writer should have steadfastly adhered to, or, as it seems to us, he should not have written this book. That is to say, he should not have written a book of such violent and wholesale attack upon all former moral writers; because the moment he quits the positions above stated, he steps upon the very ground, which these writers themselves occupy. In consistency, there should be none of these qualifying phrases, "in a measure," "to a certain degree," so freely scattered up and down in this book, none of these loopholes of escape from the theory, none of these old Calvinistic

practices of asserting much in the body of the discourse and denying it in the "improvement"; since these qualifications, or any qualifications, instantly carry the Calvinistic philosopher upon the very ground which he opposes and contemns. For all moral philosophers have admitted that there is much wrong and evil in human nature, and much liability to error in the human conscience; else why should they labor to set up a true and right standard? And herein it is, that we think Dr. Wardlaw has not been just to them. He treats them as if he supposed they had taken the *whole* of human nature in its present condition, *as their standard;* than which nothing can be more untrue. As an illustration of his meaning, he supposes a chemist to take and analyze a portion of polluted Thames-water, and to present us the result, as an account of the pure element. But see how unfair this is, and how fatal too, to the Doctor's theory. The polluted stream, of course, is human nature. But *does* the moral chemist present the whole result of his analysis, as an account of moral purity? Does he incorporate all the vileness of the human affections into his theory of moral rectitude? Nothing can be farther from the truth. But, moreover, cannot the chemist find pure water in the most tainted stream? When he has analyzed a portion taken from the "sluggish river," into its component parts, can he not present to us pure water, and tell us what it is? This is what the moral examiner has done. With regard to the use of the Scriptures, in the formation of a just moral philosophy, nothing would delight us more, than to see them fairly and understandingly applied to that purpose. That they have been too much neglected by philosophers is certain. That they will contribute more than they have done, to the establishment of more and more correct moral theories, we have no doubt, and we are glad to have the public attention directed to this point. But to assert that the Scriptures are the source of our original moral conceptions, or of all our moral conceptions, is attempting to do them honor, as we hope to show, not only in defiance of reason, but in disregard of their own implied and obvious character.

After all, we cannot help asking, what truth, what one truth has Dr Wardlaw added to the theory of morals? What one discovery has he made in this new field of inquiry? Not one. The world has heard of no new discovery. This single fact shows how baseless are the assumptions, and how

groundless are the sweeping complaints against moral philosophy, with which this book sets out.

But let us proceed to our principal object in this article, a consideration of the Calvinistic theory of moral philosophy, or, more exactly perhaps, the Calvinistic rejection of all former theories.

And, in the first place, let us consider, a little more fully, the ground which Calvinism occupies. We ask its advocates to consider it, and to consider it without prejudice. They may be right. We will not call their faith in question now, but will only attempt to fix its position.

Its position with regard to moral philosophy, Dr. Wardlaw has stated. It is not, however, with philosophy alone, that Calvinism is at war, but with all literature, with all the histories in the world, with almost all the memoirs that ever were written, and not less, with the common sense, common conversation, and common conduct of all mankind. For what is the tenor of all the literature, the poetry, the fiction, the history, the biography in the world? What are the written, the recorded thoughts of mankind, as they bear upon the point before us? What *is* all this, — that is portrayed by the hands of unregenerate men, and that draws its delineations from the characters of unregenerate men? Look into these works, and you find them filled with moral pictures, pictures of good and evil. Here, indignation at vice flashes across the page of genius; there, the pencil, dipped in the dyes of heaven, portrays the glowing form of moral beauty and commends it to the admiration of the world. Here,

> " the historic muse,
> *Proud* of her treasure, marches down with it
> To latest time; "

and there, satire throws its withering glance upon fraud and meanness. Here, the orator thunders out his anathema against the tyrant and oppressor; and there, friendship raises its monument to departed goodness, pours out its tears in eulogy and song, and bequeaths unequalled virtue to undying remembrance. " Such beneficence," is its language, " such beneficence, such excellence, such loveliness, — when shall we look upon their like again? " Well, it is all a mistake! — concerning the mass of mankind, it is all a mistake! There is no ground in human nature for these moral discriminations. *All*

is wrong, *all* is evil; and what is called good is only the semblance of good. So ends the Calvinist's catechism. The same is true of the conversation and conduct of men. Their conduct, much of it, expresses confidence and love to one another. The manners of life all over the world, with however much of coldness and distrust, are nevertheless moulded by these sentiments of the heart; the approving smile, the glowing countenance, the outstretched hand, the fond embrace, are testifying all over the world, that there are qualities to be admired, that there are virtues to be loved. Conversation, too, is continually bearing witness to the same convictions. Men are everywhere speaking of one and another whom they know, as good, as excellent, as acting worthily and nobly. They are addressing to one another, in a thousand indirect forms of language, the same fervent and kind sentiments. Conversation, language, is everywhere spreading, in the breath of speech, its invisible network, and weaving the ties of affection that hold society together. And the very foundation of all this is confidence in human worth. But again we say, that Calvinism holds all this to be an entire mistake. And there is nothing on earth that is allowed to stand against this blighting judgment. You are surrounded, perhaps, with children. Their early affections, like their bright faces, are putting on a thousand quick, and fluctuating, and beautiful expressions. You are charmed and won by their infantile simplicity and exquisite tenderness. Their very voices seem to be softened and attuned by the gentleness of their hearts. "Beautiful ones of earth!" you are ready to exclaim, "almost meet for heaven!" And the Saviour's voice answers back, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven!" It is all a mistake! says the system we are considering. In these children there is nothing really good; in the sight of the unerring Judge of right and wrong, *nothing good!* Your imagination may please itself with fancying that these are little cherubs; but the truth is, — pardon the phrase for the sake of the truth, — the truth is, that they are only little *devils* in the guise of cherubs! Because, if there were one particle of real holiness in these beings, if the only unerring eye saw any thing really good in them, then they would be something better than totally depraved; they would be Christians, says this system, (so say not we,) they would be Christians, and in the way to heaven; but there is not in them one particle of real excellence!

But we must stop here, one moment, to consider and to answer for the thousandth time, we suppose, the only objection that is ever offered to this conclusion. "Not one particle of holiness," the defender of this system may say; "but still there is much that is amiable and excellent, in human nature; and much that is so pleasing, that it almost persuades us to call it real virtue." If we were dealing with a professed metaphysician or moral philosopher, we confess that we should hardly know how to suppress our indignation at such trifling with words, as appears in this objection. What *is* it, that is in controversy here? It is moral excellence. The question is about moral excellence, and about nothing else. It is not about what may chance to be pleasing and agreeable to a totally depraved nature, but about what is really good,—good according to the only unerring standard. But what is the highest and most unerring standard? It is the judgment of God. Is there any thing morally good in human nature, according to that standard? The Calvinist's answer is, Nothing. Here end all questions then. To say that there is something pleasing in human nature, as there is in animals, the horse and the dog, is nothing to the purpose. To say, that there are semblances of goodness in men, is worse than saying nothing to the purpose. It is gravely putting forward an argument which can answer no end but that of self-deception. And, if we are so deceived, we ought to reform our language; we ought not to say that these *semblances* are excellent and lovely; we ought to suspect, and dread, and dislike them more than open vices; for they are more dangerous; they beguile us of all moral discrimination; they corrupt the fountain of truth in us. And, indeed, there *are* semblances of good, which are to be thus regarded; but the evasion we are considering, instead of exposing, helps to shield them. If the Calvinist only maintained that the mass of mankind is not prevailingly, habitually good, there would be no controversy. If he only said, that mankind are sadly depraved, that the highest principle of virtue, the fixed love of God, is wanting in multitudes, we should have no dispute with him. But he says that there is nothing good, not any, the least thing that is pure and holy, nothing, that by any addition or increase, can become holiness, not one solitary, momentary breathing of real virtue, ever to be found in human nature. Now, for Calvinists to admit that there is nevertheless some-

thing pleasing, grateful, charming in human nature is all mockery. It is nothing to the purpose. We might as well be told that the human *form* is sometimes beautiful, the countenance lovely, the movement graceful. It is nothing to the purpose. The question now is, not a question of taste, but of theology. It is a question about the object, not of the imagination, but of the conscience, the moral nature. When men admire, praise, love the virtues of others, they suppose they admire, praise, love what is really, morally excellent. *Do* they so? Calvinism avers that they do not. If it admitted that there was any thing morally pure and good in what men love, that there was in human nature the least possible degree of what is pleasing to God and conformable to his law, the very basis of Calvinism would be taken away, and all its superstructure would fall to the ground. But it denies this, and therefore, we repeat, it stands confronted with the judgment of the whole world.

We return to this point, for we wish that this position of the system may be understood; we think it will be found to yield us some inferences.

This, then, is the position of the system and of its defenders. A few persons, a few individuals in a community, a few thousands in the world, declare, that all the rest are totally depraved, that there is no foundation in their nature for a system of moral philosophy; no truth in the moral part of their literature; nothing but error in their conversation, so far as it touches the moral qualities of those around them. All the rest of the world denies it; not in form, perhaps, but in fact denies it. That is to say, they speak about virtue, right, goodness, as realities, and not fictions and delusions. They say habitually, and they say it not of a few elected persons, but of many beside them, "such men are good men, such actions are right, such qualities are excellent and lovely." "No," say the few; "these things are not good, nor right, nor excellent." And when they say this, they oppose the judgment of the whole human race! Ask *any* man, whether he does not love a kind action, or a merciful deed; whether his feelings do not sometimes kindle at the thought of a generous benefactor, of an excellent parent, of a good and worthy man; and he will, with all his heart, answer that they do. He would think himself a brute and a monster, if they did not. In fact, the language, the literature, we repeat, the poetry,

the history of all the world, is full of testimonies to the beauty of goodness. "Nevertheless," say the few, "there is no real love of goodness in the world; none but in the hearts of the regenerate. With the exception of what is good in them, there is no real goodness in the world. What men call goodness, is not goodness; and if it were, they would not love, but hate it. God, the infinitely good and kind Being, they perfectly hate." And when the few say this, we repeat, they set themselves against the judgment of the whole world!

It is not strange then, that Calvinism should find it difficult to sustain itself in the public mind. It is not strange that its tenets, according to the experience and confession of all its advocates, should show a tendency, the moment they are let alone and left to themselves, to sink down, out of the public mind, and to be lost in the mass of opinions, so actively conflicting with them. This tendency is well understood, and universally acknowledged. There never was a city, nor village, nor hamlet in the world, where this system has been preached, that it did not sooner or later array against itself an intelligent opposition. And there never was a congregation on earth, where this system has once been preached, and has, at length, ceased to be urged, so that men's minds were left to take the natural course of human opinion, that they did not give up, one after another, every point of it. And it would be easy, if it did not seem invidious to mention now two cities in different parts of the world, inferior to none in general intelligence, once the strongholds of this system, now as much distinguished for their departure from it. Total depravity, we know, is the convenient explanation assigned for facts of this nature; but it would be, at any rate, a more modest solution of the phenomenon, to refer it to the total opposition which exists between all the current ideas, maxims, and literature in the world, and the system of Calvinism. Indeed, Calvinism far more needs, for its protection, a guardian *Index Expurgatorius*, than Popery. The moment its votaries get beyond the literature of the Institutes, and of Turretin, and of Ridgley's Body of Divinity, and Boston's Fourfold State, they are on dangerous ground. We say not this scornfully, but simply; inasmuch as it is simply true. For that moment they come in contact with opinions at war with their creed. The classic literature of all nations, from the times of Homer to this day, stands in direct contra-

riety to the doctrine of total depravity and its associated tenets. It not only bears no testimony, in favor of these doctrines, but every possible testimony, both implied, and direct, against them. We are not saying, that Calvinists themselves take this view of the subject, though some of their distinguished writers have done so. We are far from saying, that this class of Christians does not cultivate literature. They are, perhaps, distinguished for it. They have noble Seminaries, — every one of which however, we think, is helping to batter down the system it was raised to support. No, we say nothing against the intelligence or respectability of the Calvinistic body. It is a phalanx warring against the opinions of all the world. That is a position which, though false, as all such positions in opinion must be, has yet something respectable about it. It wants nothing but truth to make it heroic.

Nor, in taking the popular side in this controversy, do we wish to say any thing, to catch the popular ear, or to flatter the popular passions and prejudices. We admit, — we more than admit, we insist, that there is much, very much, that is wrong in the world, — *more* that is wrong than right, more that is evil, than good. We are sensible, that there is much that is wrong in the history and current literature and moral philosophy of the world. They do not conform sufficiently to the spirit of that better Teacher, to whom it is our privilege and happiness to listen. We are quite aware, that there is much in the prevailing moral sentiments of mankind that needs to be reformed. We need not to be told, that there is error and evil and blindness in the minds of all human beings. We can go far with the Calvinists in delineations of this nature. But there is a point at which we must stop. We cannot admit that there is nothing good in human nature, no first principle to be built upon, no spark to be kindled; no foundation for moral philosophy, no foundation for moral hope.

But the point where definition and acquiescence stop, must be the beginning of argument. And we must beg our readers to give us a little patient attention, though inquiries of this nature have occupied considerable space in our pages, while we consider the material questions, — What is rectitude, holiness, or virtue? (the name of the quality is immaterial,) — What is its origin? — What makes it to be to us the quality that it is?

The question about the origin and nature of the sentiment of rectitude, as we have already intimated, is the essential question between Calvinists and their adversaries. For it is only by setting up a peculiar definition of religion or rectitude, and then maintaining that this peculiar quality is the product of a special divine influence, that they are able to deny the possession of every, the least degree of rectitude to the rest of mankind. From the same source, too, springs all exclusion, alienation, division.

What, then, *is* moral rectitude? What is its origin? What makes it to be to us the quality that it is?

We use the most comprehensive description of rectitude, that is, of all moral and religious excellence, when we say, it is benevolence, — the desire of promoting the happiness of others. We will not say that *all* excellence is to be referred to this; that all the virtues are species of this one genus. But *this* certainly, if it is not the primary, is, at least, the most comprehensive form of rectitude. When we contemplate God, as creating the universe, from the desire of communicating happiness, we contemplate that, which Scripture and theology and moral philosophy unite in ascribing to him, as his highest glory. Nor in saying this, do we say with the Utilitarian, that happiness is the best thing in the universe; for we say, on the contrary, that the desire of spreading happiness is a better thing, that this, in fact, is the best thing. This then is the most undoubted and comprehensive form of excellence. This, whether it exist in God or in man, is essential rectitude.

Now what is it, that makes us regard this rectitude, this benevolence as we do, — with moral approbation, with a pleasure different from, and superior to, all the pleasures of the senses, and of mere speculation? We answer, it is that which makes us regard truth as we do, that which makes us regard visible beauty as we do, — namely, *the constitution of our nature.* What is it that makes one color to be originally agreeable, and another to be unattractive? What makes a soft melody to be pleasing, and harsh discord painful? What makes a palpable truth in science acceptable, and a manifest error offensive? The only answer to be given, is, that it is the constitution of our minds. The same is true of that moral judgment, which makes rectitude an object of our approbation, and wickedness an object of our disapprobation. There is no reasoning which makes right and wrong to be the different things they are to us, any more

than there is reasoning to make the difference there is between white and black, or between light and darkness.

This is a question which must be committed for its decision to simple consciousness. The facts to be decided upon are there, and the decision must be there. Consciousness alone can tell us what the admiration of rectitude is, and this must inform us from whence it sprung. We ask any one then to sit down, in silence, by the shrine within, and listen to the oracle; and we are persuaded that it will give him this response, and no other,—the simple fact and no explanation. Let him analyze his moral perceptions, and resolve them into their primitive elements,—(we will speak of that analysis soon,)—let him get at his primary sentiments of right and wrong, and ask, not what has modified these sentiments, but what has made their very nature, made their very difference; and he will be obliged to answer, that such is the nature God has given him, such are the principles founded in the very constitution of his mind; and that is all he knows about it. He might as well undertake to say, why the proposition that two and two make four is agreeable to his mind, and why the proposition that two and two make five is one from which his mind instantly revolts.

But although consciousness is sole judge here, the interpretation of its decisions may be mistaken; and it is proper, therefore, to appeal to collateral considerations. We say then, that the science of morals is placed, by this decision, on the same basis, as all other sciences. In every science there are certain ultimate facts; facts which, when found, are received and relied upon, without reasoning or explanation; facts which are the basis of every just theory, and which, like the primitive rocks in the frame of nature, are not to be removed, nor reasoned away,— nor accounted for, but by a reference to the power of God. There are such foundations in the mind, as well as in the world; and that which overlays and obscures them, is but culture, rubbish, alluvion. These primary facts and principles are recognised in Metaphysics. How do you know that you exist? How do you know that you are the same being that you were twenty years ago? How do you know that there is any distinction between truth and error? The answer is, these are facts,—ultimate, inexplicable, immutable facts. You cannot resolve them into something else; you cannot explain them away; you cannot tear them from the mind. Even in the shadowy region of taste there are such primary principles. Some colors,

sounds, forms, and motions are originally agreeable to us. Mr. Alison, in that boundless and beautiful illustration which his celebrated work on Taste gives, of the modifying power of association, and which almost covers up and keeps out of sight the original principles, still admits that there are such principles. Now we cannot doubt that there are such principles in the science of morals; that the foundations of human nature are *moral* if they are any thing; that there is a basis of primitive moral truth in the soul, which time, change, disaster, — the floods of ages, have not swept away, and on which the theory of morals is to be built up.

We approve of rectitude, benevolence, virtue, disinterestedness; and we can give no reason why we approve them, which is not a mere truism; that is to say, we can give no reason at all, but that God has made us so. *It is so;* and this is all we know about it. — The question is not, it should be observed, how rectitude becomes a habit, what forms it into a character, and makes a man, a good man; but what makes the sense of rectitude to exist in the mind at all. And the answer is, that such is the constitution of our nature. It is not education that gives us these original perceptions of right and wrong. No education can impart them to a nature, which has not the proper moral constitution, — as to the animal, for instance; no perversion of moral discipline can entirely eradicate these perceptions from the human heart. It is not the Bible that originates in us the ideas of right and wrong. The Bible addresses these ideas, and therefore presupposes them. They are the signatures of the Divinity on the human soul. God is the Author of conscience, the Inspirer of virtue, the Teacher of duty. "God hath made man upright," — made the sense of uprightness to exist in him.

These are the facts which consciousness gives us. And no analysis can go behind these facts. It may go far, and may do much service, even on a false theory. The Utilitarian has analyzed many virtues into the sentiment of benevolence, and most usefully for the cause of social improvement, and especially of good government. When certain acts and institutions are in question, it is enough to ask, whether they are useful to the community, whether they tend to the promotion of the general happiness, whether they correspond to the sentiment of benevolence. But, that benevolence tends to promote happiness is not the reason why it is right. It is right in itself. We want

no reason to show us that it is right. It has an intrinsic and independent beauty. If things were so constituted that the desire to promote happiness never produced any thing but misery, it would still be estimable. So the theory of Adam Smith, which resolves all our moral sentiments into sympathy, which teaches us to see the beauty of our virtues and the ugliness of our vices in the mirror of public sentiment, has successfully as well as eloquently explained many of our moral emotions. But this sympathy, this reflection of ourselves in the bosoms of others, is not the cause of our moral sentiments. The light of moral perception was in our own minds. The mirror does not create, but only reflects it.

But let us consider a little more attentively, though briefly, some of the theories which have been brought forward to account for our moral emotions. For it is very striking to observe how the doctrine we are endeavouring to support is involved or implied in every one of these theories.

One preliminary observation will be found of special importance here. It may have been observed by the reader, that we have been careful to speak of nothing but the feeling, the sentiment of rectitude, as it exists in the mind. Now the observation is, that in this inquiry, it is the feeling or perception alone with which we have any thing to do, that we have nothing to do with the external action. The outward action is nothing but the sign of the inward perception. It is, we repeat, with the perception only that we have any thing to do, when inquiring after the real origin and essential nature of virtue. If this distinction had been sufficiently considered, it would have cut off, as we think, many a wearisome and wordy disquisition upon the grounds of morality.

But to the definitions and grounds of morality. Aristotle's definition, *that virtue is the mean between extremes*, can scarcely be considered as rising to the dignity of a theory. It was a just maxim certainly, and implied, we may add, that the elementary principles of rectitude lay in the human heart, though they were liable continually to fall into one or the other of the extremes of apathy and passion, of inaction or violence. Zeno's rule of *living according to nature*, that is, the nature of the soul, implied of course, that there is a principle or perception of rectitude in the soul, which is the teacher of virtue. The doctrine of Epicurus, that *happiness is the end of our being*, and that *all virtue lies in the pursuit of happiness*, was connected by

this philosopher with the admission, that, in order to obtain this happiness, one must live virtuously; an admission that at once introduces a new element into his theory, an element fatal to his theory as a theory, but the very element we contend for,—that is to say, an independent perception of virtue. *The fitness of things* of Cudworth, Clarke, and Price taught, that "the right and wrong of actions are to be regarded as ranking amongst necessary or first truths, which are discerned by the mind independently of all reasoning and evidence." The speculations of those acute theologians, which threw a world of learned dust and scholastic mist over this first truth, still laid this truth in the heart of their system; namely, that right and wrong are things self-evident, necessary, and immutable as the axioms of the Mathematics. The celebrated "theory of moral sentiments" by Adam Smith, *the theory of moral sympathies*, that is to say, involved the same original and independent principle. "I do wrong. I consider others as looking upon that wrong action and condemning it. I sympathize with their disapprobation; and thus I condemn myself. I do right; and through a similar process I learn to approve myself. It is sympathy," says the theory, in both cases. But why do we feel so *differently* in the different cases? Why does the right excite one kind of emotion, and the wrong another? Why did they, in the bosoms of the first men that experienced these emotions? The theory does not tell us. And the only answer is, that it is the constitution of our nature that makes the difference. In the same manner do we think that there is involved in the Utilitarian theory a secret reason and ground of morals, which the Utilitarian himself does not recognise. Why is an action right? Because it tends to promote the general happiness. But why is it right to promote the general happiness? Is it because happiness is a good? Yes, it is a good; but if bare tendency to promote this good, is the only thing to be considered, then a shower of rain must be a very virtuous thing. "No," it will be replied, "a being only can be virtuous. There must be an *intent* to do good; a *moral* intent,—not an intellectual contriving of the matter only; a love,—and not a love of happiness merely, our own for instance, but a love of others' happiness." Here then, we think, is a secret truth embraced, but not recognised, in the Utilitarian's category. A world of beings may easily be conceived of, promoting each other's happi-

ness in the highest degree, and yet having no such moral intent, not virtuous. The world of animals *is* such a world.

We are not sure that the theory of utility is yet set forth and defended in a manner, that is very satisfactory to its most intelligent private defenders, — of whom there are many. We have supposed that the theory, as laid down in the books, contented itself with saying, that an action is right because it tends to promote happiness, and there left the subject without going back to the ulterior and ultimate ground of rectitude in the case. There it seems to us to be left by Paley and Bentham. They do not seem to have considered the question, why the *feeling* of benevolence is right. If, however, the Utilitarian should say, that he *assumes* the feeling to be right, and only differs from us in analyzing and resolving all virtue into that feeling, we should have no quarrel with the *principle* of his philosophy, though we should doubt about his conclusion. Whether all rectitude can be analyzed into benevolence, is, we must take the shame to say, a moot point in our mind; and we have not space here to discuss it. But if the Utilitarian says, that a benevolent feeling is right *because* it tends to promote happiness, if he says that happiness is so excellent a thing that it confers upon its promoter virtue, all the charm which invests it, we must dissent altogether. Benevolence makes me happy, makes others happy. Is that the reason why it is beautiful? It would be, to sell virtue in the market place! Happiness is an excellent thing. But it is not half so excellent a thing as virtue. Yet this theory would make happiness the nobler thing, since it is offered as the very ground and reason, why the virtue that promotes it, is excellent. We can admire the merciful man, when he is merciful to his *beast*, when he takes care only for the happiness of animals; but can an animal happiness confer upon the quality of mercy all its beauty and worth?

But we must not push these discussions further. We hope it is sufficiently evident, from consciousness, from the analogy of all the sciences, and from the concessions of all moral theories, that the perception of rectitude is one of the great, ultimate facts of human nature; that the truths of morals are just as original and certain within us, as the truths of reason or science.

And here we pray it may be considered, what *it is* about which we have been reasoning. It is the one, single, simple,

undivided perception of excellence. It is the one moral nature. Rectitude is one thing; and most comprehensively considered, we have said, and all, of every creed, admit indeed, that it is benevolence. Benevolence, then, is one thing. It is not one thing in God, and another thing in man. These are only different degrees of the same principle. Of benevolence, — that is, of the desire to promote happiness, whether that desire exist in God or man, you have a distinct idea, you have one idea, and you can have but one. You have not two moral natures, one of which regards God, and another of which regards man; your moral nature is one thing. The moral object for that nature is one thing. If benevolence were one thing in man, and another and entirely different thing in God, there would be an end of all knowledge, of all certainty, of all religion. All would be confusion. But instead of this all is unity, congruity, harmony in the moral system. Hence it is, that he who offends in one point, is guilty of all. Hence it is argued by the Apostle, that he who loves not his brother whom he hath seen, does not love God whom he hath not seen. The being seen or not seen, makes no difference in the excellence; it is still one and the same thing. Dr. Wardlaw has a chapter on the "Identity of Morality and Religion," and we had hoped that he would, indeed, have philosophically shown their identity. But, instead of showing their identity properly speaking, instead of showing that they are the one love of the one excellence, he has severed them rather, insisting that the love of human excellence, by itself considered, is nothing worth; that a benevolent deed is devoid of all excellence, unless its express and immediate motive be the love of God. As if a man, who, at the risk of his own life, plunged into the stream, to save the life of his bitterest enemy, had not done a worthy deed, unless in that moment, the thought and the love of God had been with him, to inspire the action. It is far from our intention, of course, to disparage this higher affection; it is, indeed, essential to the stability of virtue; and nothing in the world is so lamentable as the neglect of it. The world, indeed, is disordered and deranged by the want of this central light. But one reason, we believe, why the love of God has been less cultivated, is, that it has been severed from the rest of the human affections, that it has been made a thing so essentially different from all other love, so peculiar in

the definitions, and descriptions, and very terms, that have been applied to it.

The lawful supremacy, however, of this affection we surely do not question. That should be best loved, which is best; that most loved, which is greatest. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, is the first commandment." This commandment mankind have violated; they are fallen from this highest obligation. That which should be first, has become last in their thoughts. It is a terrible perversion. It is a gloomy aberration. It is, indeed, a sadder thing for the world, than all that is generally meant by the scholastic dogma of total depravity. The want of the true love of God leaves a dark void in the souls of millions, — who go on through life wanting, and for ever wanting, something, they know not what. Moreover, this grand defection has, doubtless, brought much error into the maxims and conversations, thoughts and theories of men, concerning duty, morals, religion. Moral philosophy has not held up the light as she ought, — has not been, even in Christian countries, peculiarly enough Christian.

But at the same time we must say that, in our apprehension, Calvinism has still more erred, from its manner of holding up the true light. It has made it inaccessible by cutting it off from the natural steps of human affection; made it inaccessible by any natural and rational modes of approach. And particularly, by representing virtue as consisting in a supreme regard to the glory of God, Calvinism has placed the true affection, if not, when rightly understood, in a false, yet in an obscure, mystical, and repulsive light. It tells men, that no action or affection of their lives, which had not immediate and supreme regard to the glory of God, has any worth in his sight. Now, that love to God should be the supreme affection, the commanding power, within us, is most true; but, if this be all that is meant by the definition just stated, we must regret, that language so vague and so repulsive is chosen to express it. To act, to live, for the glory of God, — what is it? The Apostle teaches us, that it is to act with forbearance and kindness towards our fellow beings,* — a part of the very definition of moral excellence which we have defended. We glorify God, when, with admiration and love of his goodness, we labor for the promotion of his beneficent designs, — when we labor for the happiness of our brethren.

* 1 Cor. x. 24 — 31.

This is very intelligible. But this definition would very ill suit the preacher's purpose when he is setting up a discrimination, designed to cut off all men from hope,—to conclude them all under the charge of total depravity. Then, it is some high, metaphysical refinement of devotion, some inexplicable dogma, or impracticable rule. Is it not remarkable, that, whenever the preacher would make out the proof of total depravity, he finds it necessary to depart from the simple practical precepts of the Gospel, and to set up strange and unintelligible distinctions? He dare not ask, Do men love one another,—do they obey their parents,—do they give alms to the poor? but he says, Do they act for the glory of God? Virtue is made to be a peculiar and technical thing; and then to be sure, it is easily proved that men are devoid of it, and, of course, are totally depraved. Give us a similar liberty, and we can prove any thing. Let us make, for instance, our definition of *reason*, and we will prove that all men are totally insane.

But there is a farther general and leading observation necessary to complete the argument we have undertaken. If we have succeeded in establishing the position, that the ideas of moral excellence are constitutional and belong essentially to human nature, we are prepared to advance another step in our survey of the ethics of Calvinism. For we maintain, that the idea of rectitude implies, in however small a degree, the feeling of rectitude. The Calvinist, indeed, admits that there is a conscience in all men, and we maintain that this admission is inconsistent with the alleged universal and total depravity of men. We expect, that, in answer to this, it will be said, at once, that although all men have a conscience and approve of what is good, that is a very different thing from loving it.

Undoubtedly it is a very different thing from loving it habitually, or with predominant affection. But the question is, whether the approbation of goodness does not imply the previous existence, not of a habit, but of a feeling of goodness. You behold a man doing a good action. Now, it is not the bare outward action that you admire,—the stretching out of the hand, and that hand filled with gold,—but it is the generous feeling, the feeling of kindness or pity in the heart of the giver. And how could you know any thing of this feeling in his heart, unless you had experienced something of it in your own heart? We do not see how otherwise you

could know it. The feeling is not visible. You do not with your bodily eyes see it. But you know that it is in your neighbour's heart, when he is sincerely doing a kind action; and you know it from sympathy; you know it because you feel with him, or have, at some former time, felt as he does. In short, you know nothing, and can know nothing, about any mental qualities and exercises, but by experience of them. And as you know what memory is only by remembering, or what reason is only by reasoning, so do you know what a virtuous or holy exercise in the mind is, only by feeling it.

We know that it is common to make an entire and radical distinction between conscience and feeling. But we regard this as one of those artificial divisions of the mind into different powers and departments, which the thinking and judicious have now agreed to discard. Conscience is not only a judgment, but it is a feeling. It is the same soul acting, with greater or less energy, upon moral objects. The difference between conscience (as that word is commonly used) and moral feeling is a difference, not in kind, but in degree. It may be a cold approbation; it may be a warm emotion; but still it is the same thing. We perceive the difference between right and wrong. We feel the difference between right and wrong. Here is the same thing. We feel this more or less strongly. Here is all the difference. When we witness a simple act of justice, as the paying of a debt, we simply approve it. When we witness an act of great, generous, and even self-denying benevolence, we warmly approve it. In both cases, it is, in its nature, the same action of the soul, put forth with greater or less energy.

But, it may be said, are not conscience and feeling often directly opposed to each other? May not the conscience be right, when the feeling is wrong? Is not this especially the case in envy? A man approves, it will be said, the excellence that he hates; his conscience perceives a virtue, to which his heart is opposed. Undoubtedly the feeling of conscience may be overborne by other feelings; but this does not prove it to be any the less a feeling, and, so far as it goes, a right feeling. There is no difficulty here. It is just as filial affection may be overborne by the love of worldly pleasure, or evil company. All we say, in this case, is, that the filial affection is the weaker feeling. And, if this feeling should strengthen and gain the predominance, we should not say,

that it was changed in its nature, but only, that it was increased in power. And so the weak conscience, when it becomes a strong principle, when it becomes the habitual love of God and good beings, is yet the same conscience increased in vigor. It has passed through a change, not of nature but of degree. It is the same single, solemn homage of human nature to what is right and good.

The case of envy which has been stated only proves, that the desire of admiration is stronger than the love of excellence. A man hates, we may say, the excellence that he loves; and it is this conflict, in part, that makes the passion so painful. And yet, in this strongest of all cases, so true is human nature to itself, that envy is commonly said to distort the excellence that it dislikes. Conscience is too strong, the homage of his nature is too strong, for the envious man, and he cannot let the goodness, that casts him into the shade, be any longer the same bright, unmarred, overpowering goodness. His eye soon becomes jaundiced, and discolors all that it looks upon.

Conscience, we say then, is a feeling. It is the foundation of virtue. It does not make a man decidedly and habitually virtuous; it does not make him a good man. It may not be strong or constant enough. But so far as it goes, so far as it controls a man, it is of the very nature of virtue. When a noble deed is done, when a base and black treachery is committed, why is your mind affected so differently from that of a mere animal? It is, that you have a conscience; and that conscience, that fervent admiration, that indignant abhorrence, — is it not a feeling? And if such feelings glowed in your heart continually, and if they rose in homage to the Supreme Excellence, would you not be a good and pious man?

Such, then, is the origin of what is good in man. Such is the doctrine in moral philosophy, which, for the sake of its own obvious importance, and for the sake, also, of important results and inferences, we would establish on this subject. Before we proceed to those results and inferences, two or three objections are to be noticed.

In the first place it will be asked, what account we make of the Scriptures. Are not these, it will be said, the source of our ideas of religion and goodness? A disposition has, of late, manifested itself among moral inquirers to defer to the

records of our faith, which we shall welcome if it be well directed, and which, at any rate, makes it incumbent on us to state our views explicitly on this point.

We say, then, of the Scriptures, that they certainly are not the original source of our ideas of rectitude. The Scriptures were designed to improve, to exalt, our conceptions of religion and goodness, but not to create, not originally to impart them. Of this, any one must be satisfied, who will observe the process of his own mind in reading the Bible. You open this book, and let us suppose, to test the argument, that you do so for the first time. You read such words as *good, upright, holy, righteous, just;* and you perceive that you are commanded to possess the qualities for which these words stand. Now, if you had no previous idea of what goodness, uprightness, holiness, &c. are, these words would convey to you no meaning whatever. We know of nothing that can add to the clearness and strength of this argument.

But it may be said, the Scriptures originally introduced the ideas of uprightness and holiness into the world, and then they descended from parent to child in the way of education. Go back, then, to those whom the Scriptures originally addressed, and the case is still the same. They must have had ideas of goodness and righteousness, or these words could have conveyed no meaning to them. The sacred writer must have adopted words in common use, or he could have communicated *no* ideas. He must have intended to use those words in the common and received sense, or he would have communicated *false* ideas; he would have mislead those he professed to guide. By the most obvious and indisputable implication then, the Scriptures presuppose in mankind, some ideas, and just ideas too, of religion and goodness.

Again; we have laid the foundation of the ideas of rectitude in simple consciousness. And in this point, as a second objection to our general views, we expect to be confronted with the consciousness which Calvinism has to allege in its favor. It is said that there is a consciousness, an experience, of hundreds and thousands to prove, first, that human nature is totally depraved, and, secondly, that true piety, true rectitude, is essentially and totally different from any thing that exists in the mass of mankind; that is to say, there are hundreds and thousands, who, by their own experience, are convinced that both these things are true. The argument is

from experience. But let us ask, — Is this the only experience there is in the world? Nay, if experience is to decide, the argument is altogether in our favor. For *whose* experience shall we trust? That of a few thousands, or that of the whole human race, in all ages?

Let us apply this to the case of reason. If the conscience of the whole human race fails to perceive what virtue is, and what it is to practise virtue, how shall we know but their reason fails to perceive what truth is, and what it is to act in accordance with truth? If the moral impressions of all mankind about their nature, are completely wrong, how shall we be sure that their speculative judgments are not all wrong? If the human race is not moral, not good, in any degree, how shall we know that it is rational? How shall we know but we live in a world of the insane? There is a class of lunatics who think the *whole world* insane; and there are some ingenious arguments to establish the point. And, on the principle of this objection, we seriously ask what we should have to answer them? We know of nothing, indeed, but the universal sense of mankind. And this universal sense and opinion of men is, to the full, as much agreed upon what is correct in morals, as upon what is just in reasoning, — to the full as much agreed about actual virtue, as about speculative truth. And if this general conviction, this dictate of our nature, this voice of the universal mind is nothing, then let us boldly rush to the conclusion, that men, for aught we know, are as insane in the matter of reason, as they are alleged to be in the matter of conscience.

But there is another view to be taken of this universal experience. There is an experience, that is to say, with regard to the sense and import of the Scriptures. The Scriptures address all men. They were given, it will be admitted, to teach men their duties, that is to say, they lay commands upon us. They command us to be good and holy. They address these commands, let it be remembered, to all men, to unenlightened, unregenerate men, to those very men, of whom the objector avers, that they have no true idea of holiness. What purpose, then, does it serve to command them to be holy? This is our question. Why command them to be holy? They do not, according to the objector, they do not understand the word. And yet they think they understand it; while they are, on the supposition,

altogether deceived; and so much the worse deceived, as they are the more certain they are right in their conceptions of the matter. It would have been better, it would have been more honest to have spoken in an unknown tongue; for then the reader would have been conscious of his ignorance. But let us not think, that this dishonesty is to be charged upon the holy Scriptures. They speak well-known words; they speak words of which we well know the meaning.

But, in the third place, it may be said, that in regard to morals, there is no certainty; that our very disputings show that there is no certainty; that consciousness, in which we confide, tells men strange things; that right and wrong have taken their complexion from different ages and countries, now bearing one aspect, then another; and, therefore, that nothing is certain. As the result of this sort of objection, the fanatic, laying claims to special illumination, asks us to trust him; the skeptic calls upon us to trust nobody. Our position, amidst these specious doubts, and clashing directions, is very firm and satisfactory. *We know that there is a right and a wrong in human actions; and so does the objector know it too.* Let him write a thousand books against this conviction, and it stands just where it did before he began. Reason as we may, we all feel it, we all act upon it, we all know it to be true. If we needed to go beyond this irresistible consciousness, we would ask the objector one question. How do you know that there is any truth at all in the world? There is as much diversity in the operations of reason among mankind, as there is in the operations of conscience. If there is no truth in morals, how do you know that there is truth in any of the judgments of mankind? The objection, that would sweep away all truth from the world, must have more than the ordinary presumption of skepticism, if it expects to set itself up in the place of all human conviction.

Our moral consciousness, then, is as true and infallible a consciousness as it is possible for us to have. It is as universal as it is certain. It cannot be resigned, therefore, in favor of any religious arrogance, that would set up a pretension to superior light, or of any irreligious skepticism that would put out all light. This consciousness, therefore, we say again and in fine, must be accredited as the original of all that is good in man. It is this moral feeling, this con-

science, this native sense of goodness, which, trained up to its perfection and strength, constitutes any man a good man.

And let me barely add, in closing this part of the discussion, that the perception of moral rectitude needs to be something thus simple, clear, and unquestionable. It must not be dependent on any abstruse reasoning. It must not depend on this or that man's peculiar theory. It must not require that men should ascend into heaven, or go beyond the sea, to find it out. It must not leave any one cause to inquire anxiously, "wherewith he shall come before the Lord." It is too essential a matter, it is too vital an interest, to be the subject of any reasonable doubt as to *what* it is. It must be like the light of the sun, shed clearly and brightly upon every human eye. That which is food to the soul, must be certain to the taste. That which is life to the soul, must be manifest to simple consciousness. That in which all safety, all good, all happiness essentially consists, must be self-evident, indisputable, universal truth, — truth without a shadow, without a question, without the possibility of a mistake.

Our discussion of the Calvinistic ethics has run to a length, we are sensible, that warns us to bring it to a close; but there are two or three points which it presents in a light, to our minds so practical and decisive, that we are not willing to leave the subject without making them the topics of some remark.

One of these is the identity of morals and religion.

Our whole argument, it is obvious, has gone to this point, and we will not weary our readers with the repetition of it. But we wish to draw their attention more distinctly to the importance of this position, and to the evils to theology and religion, which have followed from the rejection of it.

Nothing is more common, than to hear it said, that morality is one thing, and religion another; that a man may be a very good moral man, and yet not a Christian; that he may discharge all his relative duties with the utmost fidelity, truth, and tenderness, and yet know nothing of the grace of God; and one consequence of this representation is, that religion is regarded as a mystery. Morality, virtue, goodness, men feel that they can understand; but religion is quite another thing, and therefore a mystery. If the love of the infinitely good Being were held to be but the expansion of the love we

feel for a good and kind man, it would be intelligible. But this will not do, according to the Calvinistic creed. The love of God is entirely a different thing. If it is not the love of simple goodness, of such goodness as men possess and can understand, then it must be something mysterious and inconceivable. Then it is not to be understood without some peculiar and mysterious illumination from the spirit of God.

From this assumption, fanaticism follows as a natural consequence. It may not follow in fact, because good sense and general cultivation of character may control it; but it is a just deduction from the premises. If religion is a mysterious peculiarity in the soul, produced by an indefinable influence, setting at nought all the ordinary laws of human thought and philosophical analysis, and setting itself entirely above the judgment of surrounding society, what is to restrain its excesses? What will be the answer of the wildest ranter, vociferating mingled nonsense and blasphemy, to the sober judgment that calls him to an account? It will be this; that he regards not the judgment of the profane world. And legitimately will he so answer, if religious affections be, in their essential nature, different from moral affections. Nay, to one of his own cast, who undertakes to reprove him, will he reply, that his light is not to be judged of by his brother's darkness. God has specially taught him, and who then shall judge him? His very principle is a principle of extravagance. The very point of this distinction between morality and religion, is the point where fanaticism begins; and when it has commenced its career, no limit of reason can be set to it, and it may find no end but insanity.

But the evil to the immense mass of moral men, who are unhappily living without any strong religious sentiment, is not less than it is to the professedly pious. They are not led to see any thing amiable or attractive in religion. Goodness, excellence, the kind affections, the beautiful virtues, they find are allowed to them; and religion is some other thing. Can it be any thing very attractive? Can they feel, as they ought, the obligation to be religious, when so much worth, so much of the only worth they can understand, is allowed them? If a preacher were to tell his congregation, that they were, the most of them, devoid of honesty, parental love, or filial gratitude, they would be ready to rise up in

indignation and drive him from the pulpit. But he tells them that they are destitute of religion, — destitute of what *he calls* the highest excellence, and they sit in apathy and sleep in indifference under it, the year round. Does this preaching, then, come home to their understanding and conscience? — Nor is this, perhaps, the worst influence upon the merely moral. They feel as if they were rudely repelled from religion by the teachings that are frequently addressed to them. Instead of being led and urged, as by a natural inference, to pour out the kindness of their affections in the love of God, they are told that their kind affections have no tendency to make them pious; that their virtues are rather in the way, on the contrary; and that they themselves, in fact, if they were very bad men, would be much more likely to become good Christians. Nay, this teaching may often bring about the very result it predicts. For the very bad man, struck with horror at his offences, may be driven to his Maker for pardon; and may begin to be religious, though the very beginning of his religion is the dread of religion. While the man who is *not* very bad, the mere moral man, told at one time, that he has many amiable and charming qualities, and, at another, provoked at the scorn thrown upon these very qualities, may, under the united influence of self-complacency, defiance, and disgust, settle down into utter and irreconcilable aversion to religion and to all its ways. On every account, this is a most unfortunate putting asunder of things that God hath joined together. Philanthropy, it is often and truly said, needs the aid of piety; but we believe that it is scarcely less important to be considered, that piety needs the aid of philanthropy. If piety would impart to the virtuous and kind affections a needful consistency and stability, the virtuous and kind affections are often needed to soften the severity and moroseness of an ascetic and superstitious piety. If it is monstrous to say that a man may be a very good man, and yet a very bad Christian; it is equally monstrous, and yet such things have been seen, that a man may pass for a very good Christain, who is nevertheless a very bad man. Much goodness of heart, with much neglect of prayer; much prayer with much bad passion, — these things, anomalous and dangerous as they alike are, would not have been so common in the world, if it had not been for the pernicious maxim, which

holds that morality is one thing, and religion another and quite a different thing.

Nor is this all. Theology, the science of religion, by this unreasonable distinction, has lost the character of a rational science, and it has lost, too, the respect of many learned and thinking men. There has been *a science of morals* built up on the basis of facts, — the facts of human nature. Human rights and duties have been deduced from an examination of the mind, as the principles of natural science have been deduced from an examination of nature. But what has theology been? It *should* have been established originally upon the same foundations, — namely, the facts of nature and the mind. The Bible is a superadded and explanatory communication. It is the great comment on the nature of man and the providential laws of God. It was not the want of facts, of materials for theology, but it was man's ignorance and perverseness with regard to these facts, that made the Scriptures necessary. They were intended to throw light upon what was already revealed in human consciousness, — fundamentally revealed, though not in all its branchings out. For *there* was revealed the idea of nature and of the universe, the conception of rectitude, and therefore, the elements of the conception of God; of his holiness, his goodness, his mercy. Such would theology have been as a science; God's works, man's nature, the text, the subject matter, — Scripture, the comment. But what has theology been? A laborious criticism on the Book, in professed disregard of the facts on which the Book is founded! a host of definitions and reasonings, armies of texts, — magazines, munitions, arms and armour, in all the array of polemic fight, — and all in professed disregard of the very ground of the contest! Perpetually, incessantly has the world been told, that the Bible was to teach theology by its texts and words *alone*, without reference to *any* thing else, — without any facts, modifications, or ideas from any other source. A method of procedure as strange, as if the criticism on a history should professedly overlook the original and presupposed character and circumstances of the people where the scene was laid! We say, presupposed character; for the Bible as truly presupposes a moral nature, moral perceptions, and some *just* moral perceptions in mankind, as a secular history presupposes activity and intelligence in the subjects of its delineations.

And if theology has been in this condition, how is it strange, that learned and thinking men have looked upon it with aversion or contempt? The scorn of philosophers has been much complained of and inveighed against; but it were well to remember, that no long-abiding reproach is ever without some reason for it. How is it strange, that philosophers should have looked upon theology but as a collection of dogmas, in the hands of the priesthood, having little or no relation to human life, to human happiness, or to human improvements? Nay, when they have been contemptuously told that they could not, with their profane gaze, comprehend these dogmas; that, till a miracle of illumination was wrought upon them, they were and would be blind, how should it be expected that they would sit down at the feet of conclaves and synods to learn wisdom?

Alas! are there not multitudes in the Christian world, whose common sense, without the aid of philosophy to help their pride, has brought them to a similar conclusion? What is the attitude which the larger part of the intelligence of Christendom, at this moment, holds towards the popular religion? An attitude of perfect indifference! Assailed with invectives from the pulpit, insulted with the imputation of spiritual ignorance and impotence, wearied out with assumptions and inconsistences, many have either forsaken the churches, or they attend with perfect unconcern; or else, more fortunately for themselves, they have built a separate shrine for religion in their own breasts, with which the priest intermeddleth not.

The next subject on which we wish to offer some remarks, is the unreasonableness of intolerance. The application of our general discussion to this subject, lies in this point, namely, that there is not and cannot be any material difference of opinions among men, about what rectitude or religion is. But let us be indulged, in the first place, with two or three general observations.

To our eyes, the worst form of error in good men is bigotry. It is the greatest public dishonor to the church; and it is often the most grievous affliction in private life. For what can be more unseemly for frail and fallible men, than to assume the office of pronouncing the doom of perdition upon those who honestly differ from them in opinion? What can be more hostile to that religion, which expressly says, "Judge not, that ye be not judged"? And then, as to private life,—

how can its kind and honorable relations stand against this rude and rending decision? The ties of mutual respect and love are the very ties, which intolerance cuts asunder. What then remains? How can two walk together, of whom one pronounces the other to be utterly bad, totally depraved, a child of perdition! How especially can two Christians do this, who must, as Christians, set a supreme value upon their Christian character and hope! Suppose that two men were laboring to work out the salvation of their country, and that one of them should take it upon him to pronounce the other to be, in secret and at heart, a traitor. Could friendship remain between them?

We are not concerned to go into any extreme cases or nice points here. We will not say, that a man may never form an unfavorable opinion of his fellow man. We will not say that all error is innocent. A simple distinction will relieve all the difficulty there is on this point. Error, speculative error, may be innocent in its immediate adoption; that is to say, the mind does and must decide according to the apparent evidence before it. But there may have been a train of moral causes, perverting the mind, and preparing it to receive error; and, for this perversion, the man is responsible. His *perversion* was not innocent; and his error may be his punishment.

With nice points of this nature, however, we are not, at present, concerned. We take the broad practical principle of exclusion; and we say, that it is a principle of excision; that it cuts off friends and kindred from one another; that it cuts up the affections of society by the roots; that it lays prostrate the independence and magnanimity of many minds. How many are there all over Christendom, who would attach themselves to some proscribed form of faith, if their friends would let them! How many are there, who are perfectly conscious that they agree in opinion with some wronged and persecuted body of men; who see their brethren in opinion lying prostrate and wounded by prevailing prejudice, and yet, like the Priest and the Levite, pass by on the other side! And what business has society to exert a coercive power like this? And what must be the principle that justifies it,—that imposes a slavery worse than chains and fetters; and holds it right to do so? What would be thought of it, if it were applied to the sciences, or to professional studies and pursuits? Would not the interference be rejected as absurd? Would it not be resisted with indignation? Would not the friend, the associate, or the father, the husband, the brother, gather about him those who

were thus interested, and would he not take a decisive and manly stand? We fancy that we could hear him saying; "Now, this is absurd and insufferable. Do you undertake to say that I shall adopt but one theory in physics; or that I shall come to but one decision in the law; or that I shall pursue but one practice in medicine? Do you propose to decide, in this circle, what I shall think, and what conclusions I shall arrive at and avow?" "But religion," it will be said, "is a different subject." Yes, it *is* different. It is the subject of our essential and eternal well-being! Is that a subject on which to conceal or compromise our sentiments?

But let us consider more particularly, — for this is the main point, — the ground of this extreme intolerance, or rather how completely devoid it is of all just ground. Why shall Christian men cherish this horror of one another's faith? Why strive to suppress all inquiry, and to cut off all sympathy? Why must good men refuse the light and aid of each other's good example? — to us one of the most grievous effects of intolerance! For we frankly say, that we regret that the otherwise good example of many intolerant religionists cannot yield to us and to the world the benefit that it might. We have a quarrel with them, because they will not let us love them as we would. This is unusual language, perhaps; but we say it in all sincerity. We can *live* without those who cut us off from their religious communion, but we do not wish to live without them. We abhor this necessity of being obliged to ask what a man's faith is, before we can determine on what ground we must stand, as fellow beings. We think there is some peculiar pleasure in the friendships of those, who consent to overlook their differences of opinion. And we think there would be peculiar advantage to all parties. Why may it not be enjoyed? Why must the brightest light of life for ever shine through these mists of prejudice? What need is there that religious parties should stand in the relation to each other, not only of doubt and distrust, but of utter repugnance? We answer, *None* at all.

For wherein, after all, do our religious sects differ? Do they differ about the *nature* of religion? They cannot; that is, they cannot essentially differ. Men are *made* to think alike about it. About the intrinsic and essential nature of right and wrong, virtue and vice, holiness and sin, piety and impiety, we repeat, they are *made* to think alike. They can no more differ about what religion is, than about what reason is. There are

varieties of religious opinion, indeed; but they do not touch the essence of religious virtue. There are matters of doubtful disputation, it is true; there are speculations, doctrines, and disputes. But it is not a matter of controversy, whether God is good, whether we ought to love him, whether we ought to do good to one another.

Do the parties differ, then, about the *degree* of religious and good affection that constitutes a man a Christian? We hope not. *We* certainly contend, and insist continually, that nothing but a habit, a fixed character, of goodness and piety makes a good and pious man. We think that our doctrines have this bearing in an unusual degree. For the Calvinistic *doctrine* is, that one right affection proves and constitutes a man a Christian and an heir of heaven. We charitably hope, however, that this is not a prominent point in the practical teachings of our brethren; and we freely admit that they insist, as well as we, upon a virtuous and holy life. In this, then, we are agreed.

And now, we ask, if these two points, the nature and degree of holiness, are not all that are or can be fundamental. What more *can* be fundamental than that a man should rise to the perfection and blessedness of his nature? — that he should be like God, and should prepare to enjoy his favor?

But wherein, we ask again, do religious sects differ? Do they differ about the means of piety? Yes; in this least material point they do somewhat differ, — not about what it is to be religious, or how religious we should be; but how we shall be religious.

But how much do they differ here? They all agree, that men must be instructed, that they must be guided into the sacred path, by light. They all advocate an observance of the Sabbath, an attendance upon public worship, reflection, reading, prayer, and all the most essential means of piety. They scarcely differ upon *any* of the formal and visible means, except certain special *measures* for promoting the sense of religion; some advocating "new measures," and others preferring the old, regular, authorized means of religious influence. There are some doctrines, too, about which Christians differ. But what *is* the difference, after all? They all believe in the doctrines, and differ only in the explanation. They all believe in the Scriptures. They all believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost. They all believe in the atonement, and in regeneration, and in election, and in the corruption of human nature, and in retribution; and all they differ about is

the explanation of what the Scriptures teach on these points. How extraordinary is it, that a difference in mere explanation, of all things, should be made a ground for impeaching the sincerity or worth of either party!

Was the thing ever heard of, in any other case? Men differ about the principles of education, — men that are ardently engaged in the cause. Men differ about the measures of government, and the doctrines of political economy, and yet are all friendly to the general weal. They dispute, — dispute warmly; and yet the ardor of the controversy in good minds may only show their zeal for the common good. Why may it not be judged to be so in religion? Nay, further; they may differ so much that they cannot well labor together. And suppose it be so in religion. We are not sure that we should contend so much for visible fellowship, for exchanging of pulpits, &c., as some do. If there were no uncharitable feeling, there would be no harm in such separation. Differences of thought, of language, and of taste might favor it. Perhaps it is best in many cases, that men should labor apart. Perhaps more will be accomplished. Perhaps it is the design of Providence that they should. All that we should be anxious to maintain, is, that they should still keep up a kind and charitable feeling towards each other.

The great point is left untouched by these differences; and that is the end. The end is still the same. Men cannot walk *together* except they be agreed; — they may not have the same speed, the same gait, if the expression will be allowed, — but they may feel that they are walking to the same place. They may allow to each other, that they all aim to reach it. They would not walk at all, if they did not. We all deprecate, in political parties, wholesale denunciations of each other's motives and aims. How much worse, how much more monstrous is this, in the religion of peace and gentleness and charity!

The views, which we have presented in this article, lead us to offer a thought or two on regeneration and moral progress. For, if these views are correct, we see what regeneration is, and what progress must be. We see that religion in the soul is the developement of powers and affections already within it. It is only figuratively that it is a new creation. The man was already created; his powers, his moral capacities and affections, were already created.

It is, then, by returning to what God has made us; it is by putting away the inventions of an evil heart, and the delusions of sense and sin; it is by throwing off the incumbrances of prejudice and wrong habit, and the bonds of sensual and malignant passion; it is thus, by giving the good principle freedom to act, and then by cultivating it through the aids of God's spirit, given in answer to prayer; it is through this process, we say, that every man must become truly good and pious. Thus regarded, the way is intelligible and plain, and bears those characters of simplicity and certainty, which the Scriptures always represent as distinguishing the way of salvation. He that runs may read,—may read *as* he runs; for the lesson is written in broad characters upon the very path he has to tread; nay the dictate, the direction, is in his heart, and he has only to follow it. If a man will only be as good as he knows how to be, he will do well enough. He will know more and more, as he does more and more. He "will know of the doctrine," the truth, the way, provided he "does the will of God." Light will break upon his path as he advances. Let him act up to the light he has, and he will never be in want of light. His path will shine brighter and brighter unto the perfect day.

Very different from all this,—different certainly in form, though not in essence, is the common idea of the way to become religious, the Calvinistic idea of conversion. It is clothed with a different form,—and that form is mystery. It is for a man to obtain a feeling which he never before felt,—of which he never has had an idea. The feeling, the whole feeling, is to be inspired by a supernatural power. The work is all miraculous. The subject of this experience tells us,—we state now the ordinary, though not invariable process of conversion,—he tells us, that in the first place an impression came upon his mind, he knew not how. He was distressed; he was unhappy. He tried to shake off the feeling. It seemed as if some power was contending with him; his mind strove against it; but in vain;—he could not withstand it; he could not rid himself of it. After a time, longer or shorter, another feeling entered his heart; a feeling of joy and peace and hope. The feeling was new; as completely new, as if he had been suddenly endowed with another sense,—as if, to his five senses, a sixth had been added. He saw with new eyes; he perceived with new powers; he felt with new feelings. The change, he says, was instantaneous. It was the work of a

moment. The moment before, he was a bad man, totally depraved, a child of wrath, an heir of perdition. The moment after, he was a good man, a Christian, an heir of glory. On one indivisible instant and point of time, hung the happiness or the misery of the whole eternity to follow. If he had died the moment before, he would have had reason for ever to bewail his existence; he drew but one breath of life, and all within him, all in his prospects, were infinitely changed.

These are mysteries and miracles. No matter what they are called. The advocate of the Calvinistic faith may be unwilling to have these terms ascribed to the process of conversion; but, if there are such things in the creation, these are to be described as mysteries and miracles.

But although it assumes to be of so extraordinary a character, nothing is easier, in fact, than to disentangle this maze of experience. If the subject of it would take the pains to analyze, he would see it all; and see it to be far enough from mystery and miracle. He was distressed, and his soul was dark; dark and distressed with fears about his future fate. He calls it an indefinable feeling; but that is because he does not examine. A rational being cannot feel without motives; this is his distinctive nature. If any man has felt without any reason, then, in so far, is he not a rational, but a merely physical being. He was distressed, then, with reasonable moral apprehensions of his condition. He was unhappy, But at length the scene is changed; and the man is changed. A new feeling has entered his mind; he experiences joys, before unknown. There is nothing strange in this. He was looking for a change. He had no precise idea of what it would be. Any considerable change of feeling, therefore, he might easily take for the one in question. But some change would be very natural; especially where strong emotions were at work. Particularly, from deep gloom, a transition to some other state of mind is very natural. Nothing is more common than for the mind to throw off a load of indefinable melancholy. And when a joyous sensation enters that mind, it seems like a new and strange guest. Any sudden elation of the spirits, therefore, any new thought darting into the soul, any new light breaking into the dungeon, might easily be hailed as a conversion. And the moment that idea occurs, — that it *is* the longed for conversion, — all the rest is very intelligible. Then hopes and

joys rush in, and all things, within and without, in heaven and earth, become new.

Now what has happened to this man? Let us not do him injustice. He may be better than he was before; he may have resolved as he never did before, that he will be good and pious; and, if he has, who will not rejoice in it? To our minds, no work of a moment could be equally glorious and blessed. We sympathize, with our whole heart, in his new purposes. But, after all, how much better is he? Just as much better as one moment can make him, and no more. Just as much better as one resolution can make him, and no more. Let him go on. In God's name and strength, let him go on! We bid him God speed. We pray for his progress. But let him not think that he has at once become a good man; for, at the most, he has only begun to be a good man; or rather, we might say, he has only resolved that he will begin.

It may now be asked, what place, in accordance with these views, we give to divine influences. We answer, the largest place possible. God gave us our nature, implanted in it the seeds of goodness, gave us the ability to be good. He gives us the means,—life, with all its discipline of trials and blessings; his word, his promises, and his warnings. And we firmly believe, that he imparts additional and special influences to help and guard us in the great developement and progress of our moral being. The views which we have presented, we conceive to be in the highest degree favorable to a fervent gratitude to God, and a humble dependence on him. Without him, we are nothing; without him we can be nothing. "Every good gift and perfect gift," every good thought and purpose, every sacred acquisition and blessed virtue, "comes from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."

But not less favorable are our views to human exertion. God has given us a nature *to cultivate.* He has put into our hands a price to get wisdom. He has prepared the soil. He has given us the seeds of human virtue. He sends down the dews of his grace. He pours light upon the field where are to grow the plants of righteousness. And all this he does that we may labor. God is the Father of lights,—that is, of the luminaries of heaven. Like their light his mercy shines upon us. Would it be favorable to human endeavour, or to human gratitude or dependence, to suppose that his mercy singles out for his miraculous influences one field and another, we know not

why, and causes it to be fruitful, we know not how? So it is with the hearts of men. His grace is given to all who will improve it. The soil, the seed, the influences are given; — let us do our part, and we shall not fail of bringing forth fruit unto eternal life. Let us put away our own sinful inventions for the attainment of happiness. Let us resort to the wisdom of Heaven to teach us. Let us return to our own nature. Let us, in simplicity, commune with our own souls. Let us hear their native voices, as we heard them in childhood. They will tell us, — and they will tell us with power, — that to be wise is to be good, and to be good is to be happy.

Let us now, in close, be permitted to recall to the attention of our readers the points, which we have travelled over in this lengthened discussion. We have endeavoured to assign to Calvinism, or rather to the Calvinistic tenet of total depravity, its position among mankind, its position in moral philosophy, and its position amidst the relations and the efforts of virtue. We have said that Calvinism sets itself against the judgment of the whole human race, whether that judgment be expressed in conduct, in conversation, in moral philosophy, or in general literature. With a view to test its surprising assumption of exclusive rectitude, we have next inquired into the grounds of our moral distinctions, what it is that leads us to distinguish between right and wrong; and we have endeavoured to show that these grounds are laid in human nature, — that it is our nature, a moral nature, which makes and compels us to distinguish between right and wrong. We have then endeavoured to show that this natural perception of rectitude implies to some extent, however small, the *feeling* of rectitude; that, as nothing but the exercise of reason could have taught us what reason is, so nothing but the emotion of rectitude could have taught us what rectitude is. From these steps of our discussion naturally followed, the identity of morals and religion, the unreasonableness of intolerance, and the nature of conversion and moral progress.

It is only on one point, as will be perceived, — that of total depravity, — that we have examined the Ethics of Calvinism. The relation of the other points, — that is to say, in our judgment, their irreconcilableness with a sound moral philosophy and scientific theology, opens a large field of discussion, into which we must not at present even look.

Let us, however, take up another moment to state what sort of practical ethics would follow from this system; what sort of position, theoretically speaking, its votary should occupy in life, in society, in the world.

Himself pure, while the multitude around him is totally depraved; himself growing better, while they are daily growing worse; himself elected, sanctified, redeemed, while, for them, no electing mercy, no sanctifying spirit, no redeeming blood has yet interposed to bring them into the fold of safety; himself hoping for heaven, while they, dying such as they live, are certainly doomed to hell, nay, are, every year and day, sinking by thousands, from the fair and smiling abodes of life, into everlasting burnings, — what manner of man ought he to be? We do not ask what ideas of God must result from this view of the mass of mankind as a body of unreclaimed and almost irreclaimable convicts, from this view of the earth as a vast penitentiary; but we ask, what sort of person he should be, who dwells in such a penitentiary.

Certainly, he should be filled with inexpressible sadness. He may rejoice in his own escape; but, for the thousands and millions, who never have escaped, and who never shall escape, he ought to feel a sadness, amounting to gloom and horror. If he lived in a city of a million of inhabitants, and knew that they were all, in one season, to be swept away by a pestilence, — that all were to die, excepting a remnant of a few hundreds with himself, could he, contemplating only that death and temporal desolation, — could he walk cheerfully in the streets of that city? But what is this to that doom, beneath which millions of the human race are, every year, sinking to woes and agonies, untold, unutterable, and never to end! Can joy be any part of a system like this? Can a man ever smile, who has taken this contemplation of things to his heart? Can he see any real sign of cheerfulness in the heavens or the earth? Can the song of the neighbouring groves, can the shouts of laughter from yonder play-ground, or the swelling of gay and glad music upon the breeze, be any thing but the most bitter mockery? What are all these, to the mass of mankind, but the prelude to groans, and lamentations, and wailings of sorrow? The very arts, under such a system, should lose all their forms of winning beauty and imposing grandeur, all their buoyancy and brightness; and sculpture should only present us groups, like the Laocoon, writhing in the agony of fear; and painting

should only draw pictures, dark and portentous like that of the Deluge; and poetry should only pour out, in sadder numbers than the celebrated "Night Thoughts," its tears and lamentations over the mournful fate of human kind. Under the dread shadow of this system, then, what can remain to its consistent votary? What can be his ties to society at large? Can he have friendship? Can he wish for intercourse with unregenerate men, bad men, utterly bad men? Why should he? What is there in them to love? If he must be connected with them, by business or kindred, yet what are these *circumstances*, compared with the great features of moral relationship? And the moral relationship on the part of the regenerate, can be nothing but that of superiority, and pity, and prayer,—not that of friendship.

Can human nature,—can human life,—can human society, bear such a system as this? Burthened in spirit, saddened with many afflictions, struggling with many difficulties, scarcely sustaining itself with all the aids of the most cheering faith, how must the human heart sink under this universal cloud of darkness, horror, and despair! How could any liberal acquisitions, any graceful accomplishments, any joyous virtues, or generous confidences, spring up under such an appalling, all-absorbing dispensation of threatening, wrath, and woe? It has been said, we know, with an air of much self-complacency, that our anti-Calvinistic system, that Unitarianism, in other words, is essentially a shallow, superficial system, even for the intellect; that it is a system, altogether unfavorable to a generous and thorough improvement; that genius, encompassed by that system, walks in fetters. But what, we should like to ask, has Calvinism done, that its defenders should be entitled to adopt this tone of contempt for its adversaries? We ask not, what *Calvinists* have done. For, allowing individuals among them all deserved credit for genius and accomplishments, it is very remarkable, that in the exertion of their powers in the chosen departments of genius, they have proved traitors to their system. That is to say, the tone of religious thought and sentiment introduced into such works has never been that of Calvinism. We ask, then, What has Calvinism done? What literature has ever breathed its spirit, or ever will? What poem has it written—but Mr. Pollock's "Course of Time"? What philosophy—but Dr. Wardlaw's? Into what

meditations of genius or reveries of imagination, but those of John Bunyan, has it ever breathed its soul?

We say not this reproachfully, but in self-defence. But we do say, that a system, which has never appeared in any recognised delineations of the true and beautiful, which never comes into that department even with those who profess to hold it in theory, which dwells not with men in their happy hours, by their firesides, and among their children, which wears no form of beauty that ever art or imagination devised, but hangs, rather, as a dark and antiquated hatchment on the wall, the emblem of life passed away; and we do say, too, that a system whose frowning features the world cannot and will not endure, whose theoretical inhumanity and inhospitality few of its advocates can ever learn; whose tenets are not, as all tenets should be, better, but worse, a thousand times worse, than the men who embrace them; whose principles falsify all history and all experience, and throw dishonor upon all earthly heroism and magnanimity; whose teachings warrant no hopes, comfort no afflictions, soothe no sorrows, but of an elected few; and whose dread messages ought to make the sympathies of those few to be tortures and agonies to them, while they bind in chains the rest of mankind, and hold them reserved for blackness and darkness for ever, — we do say that such a system cannot be true! It may be a sort of theory to be speculated about, to be coldly believed in, but it is not truth, that can be taken home to the heart. "*Coldly* believed in,"—did we say? No; *so* believed, it is not believed in at all. It is *not* believed, unless it is believed in horror and anguish,—unless it sends its votary to his nightly pillow in tears, and wakes him every morning to sorrow, and carries him through every day, burthened as with a world's calamity, and hurries him, worn out with apprehension and pity, to a premature grave! He who should grow sleek and fat, and look fair and bright, in a prison, from which his companions were taken one by one, day by day, to the scaffold and the gibbet, could make a far, far better plea for himself, than a good man living and thriving in this dungeon world, and believing that thousands and thousands of his fellow prisoners, were dropping daily into everlasting burnings. Once more, then, we say, that this system cannot be proved to be true, till nature and life and consciousness are all proved to be false; till the ties of affection are proved to be all snares, and its sympathies all

sorrows; till the tenor of life is proved to be a tissue of lies, and the beneficence of nature all mockery, and the dictates of humanity all dreams and delusions!

O. D.

Art. II. — *State of Religion in Germany.*

The state of things in regard to the progress and prospects of Christianity at the present day is very extraordinary. It appears to us, that it has not received from theologians the attention which it demands. While the Christian community has been making new and zealous endeavours to extend the blessings of our holy religion to the idolatrous nations of Asia, and to the Islands of the Pacific, we see infidelity making rapid progress, and almost triumphant, in some of the most enlightened countries of the world. By infidelity, we here mean the rejection of the religion of Christ as a supernatural revelation. In Germany, especially, where theological writers have abounded, and where biblical studies have engaged in an unusual degree the attention of the strongest and most cultivated minds, we find those who reject Christianity as a supernatural revelation occupying the most important pulpits, filling the most important professorships in theological schools, and in fact constituting the predominant party in the church. It is also worthy of special remark, that Commentaries on the Scriptures, written by Naturalists, have been, and continue to be, imported in great numbers into this country, as being the most able and learned, which have appeared. No books are more common in the libraries of our young theologians, than the writings of the younger Rosenmueller, Gesenius, Eichhorn, and Bertholdt, all Naturalists. The commentaries of Kuinoel and Rosenmueller the elder, who, to a considerable extent, adopt the views of the Naturalists, are regarded as the most valuable compilations we possess. Add to this that the study of the German language and literature in England and in this country is fast increasing, and must continue to increase. And now we would ask, in view of this state of things, what has been done in England and in this country, to point out its causes and its remedy. What uneasiness, what shame, has been manifested, that, I will not say the best, but the most

able and learned commentaries, introductions, and other theological works are the productions of avowed unbelievers in the Christian religion, as a divine revelation? Above all, I repeat the question, What has been done to point out the causes and the remedy of the evil? What new defences, suited to meet the new modes in which divine revelation has been assaulted, have appeared? Even in Germany, where we might expect better things, it seems that the machinery of a party united under a venerable name, the revival of creeds, and the patronage of the civil power are relied upon by the Orthodox, as the means of putting down Naturalism, rather than the power of truth, and the intrinsic superiority of the Christian cause. It is true that something has been done in the way of argument; but nothing answering to the exigencies of the case.

When the very citadel of Christianity is invaded, we find our American theologians contending about such points as these: Whether a sinner is able to repent; Whether sin commences before birth, at birth, or at what time after birth; Whether a good man can turn from his righteousness, and fall away; and other questions of equal importance.

We do not desire that the attention of the Christian community, generally, should be unnecessarily drawn to difficulties, which have never entered their minds. But that the attention of *theologians*, of those to whom the defence of Christianity is entrusted, should be drawn to the state of Christian belief in Germany, France, and other enlightened countries of the world, we do deem of the utmost importance. We do not say that the most extravagant of the German speculations need an express refutation. But we suppose we need not take pains to prove, that Christianity must suffer, if it long continue to be the fact, that the most able and learned commentaries, and those most used by our young theological students, are the productions of avowed unbelievers in supernatural revelation. We do maintain that a new effort is required of the friends of divine revelation to meet the exigencies of the times. The former defences must be reëxamined. What is untenable must be given up, what is strong be fortified by new arguments, and defended against new objections.

These brief remarks, in which we hope we have used no exaggeration, we make with pain. But we have a strong conviction that nothing is gained in the end by suppressing the truth. Let those, whom it concerns, know the full extent and

the real nature of the malady, which has made and is making such inroads into the Christian church, and then let them discover and apply the remedy. We have a strong faith, that there will be, at no distant period, a limit to its progress. But our faith is equally strong, that this limit will be put to it by new investigations and exertions on the part of the friends of revelation. The promise, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it, should be remembered, not to repress, but to animate the zeal and the labors of the friends of Christ.

We have only to add, that the truth and importance of the preceding remarks have been particularly impressed on our minds at this time, by the perusal of an article, handed us by a friend, with permission to print it, if we should think proper, accompanied by some prefatory notice. We at first had doubts about the propriety of printing it, occasioned by the fear that a wrong use might be made of some parts of it. But, as we have said, believing it highly important, that the true state of religious opinion throughout the world should be known to the friends of revealed truth, we have concluded to insert the whole. It is translated from the Supplement to the seventh edition of the celebrated "Conversations-Lexicon," of which thousands and thousands of copies are circulated in Germany. Taking into view the popular character of the work in which it appears, and other known facts, some of which have been adverted to in the preceding observations, the article may be regarded as expressing, not merely the opinions of the writer, but the predominant opinion of the reading community in Germany. Hence, though its professed object is to give an account of what is called the Evangelical party, it incidentally gives much information in regard to the extent of unbelief, or Naturalism, amongst their opponents.

The intelligent reader will perceive that the article is somewhat tinctured with the spirit of party. For this he will make due allowance. We need not point out to the Christian believer all that we deem erroneous in it. Especially we need not refute the position, that bigotry, intolerance, and persecution are inseparably connected with the belief in supernatural revelation, or attempt to prove that these sins against God and man might belong to a Naturalist church abusing their power. The objectionable parts of the article are so obvious, that we shall give it without farther comment. As we have intimated, our object is to give information in regard to

the real state of Christianity in one of the most enlightened countries in the world, and thus to lead to the inquiry, What are the causes of the present state of things, and what is to be done to meet it?

With respect to the account given in the article of the new ultra-Orthodox school, we have reason from other sources to believe that it is substantially correct. Its opposition to Naturalism is distinguished by imprudence and violence, rather than by wisdom and ability. We regret that so little permanent aid to the cause of divine revelation is to be expected from that school.

> "Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,
> Tempus eget."

G. R. N.

Hengstenberg and the Journal of the Evangelic Church.

One of the most memorable events of our time, though far from an agreeable one to the friends of a free and healthy developement of the religious spirit, is the religious and ecclesiastico-political tendency of a party, of which Hengstenberg is the champion, and the "Journal of the Evangelic Church" the organ.

Hengstenberg was born on the 20th of October, 1802, at Frondenberg, a village in the county of Mark, where his father, a man of sound learning, now in Wetter, was then a clergyman, and prepared his son for the University without sending him to an academy. The father may have laid the foundation of an earnest religious spirit in the son, but the gloomy mysticism which Hengstenberg has since professed, by no means came from him; on the contrary, he was rather inclined to Rationalism, we mean a Rationalism of a moderate and Christian character, inclining to Supernaturalism; and it was perhaps owing to the influence of his son, that he subsequently became more disposed to Pietism. Hengstenberg himself, during the period of his education, had very different tendencies from those which he has since manifested. In 1820, he entered the University of Bonn, and there devoted himself to philological studies, particularly to Oriental learning. Among the students at Bonn, as at most other German universities, there then prevailed an enthusiastic patriotism and love of freedom, which found its great support in the *Burschenschaften*, societies of the students, which flourished in secret in spite of prohibition. Hengstenberg entered warmly into the

general feeling, and was ever ready to defend the *Burschenschaft* with words or blows, as the case might require. He belonged to a party, which sought to extend the influence of this association beyond the mere adjustments of the concerns of the students, and make it conducive to the promotion of liberal political principles among them. Following out this purpose with enthusiasm to its extreme limits, he became a political idealist, and warmly opposed those of his friends who were averse to violent innovations in the established order of society. One fruit of the aspirations of the *Burschenschaften* after a political and moral ideal, was the awakening of a general fondness among the students for philosophical studies, particularly practical philosophy, and Hengstenberg partook in the enthusiasm. He studied Kant, and more particularly Fries, whose writings, in those parts which have a practical character, afforded the most nourishment to his love of liberty. These works also subsequently engaged his serious attention and were for a time the basis of his philosophical opinions. As long as his philosophical views were such, it is obvious to all acquainted with the principles of the distinguished thinker whom he followed, that his spirit must have been inclined to free speculation, and his religious notions unshackled by ecclesiastical authority or the belief in a revelation. Against Hegel's philosophy he often expressed himself with bitterness and contempt, but principally on account of the tendency which it had assumed from his connexion with the Prussian ministry. Nevertheless there was, in the midst of all the freedom of spirit belonging to the *Burschenschaft*, an element which may have produced the subsequent change in Hengstenberg's character; we refer to the romantic fondness for the character and institutions of Germany in the middle ages, by Jahn, Arndt, and others, which led to notions the opposite of liberal in politics and religion.

The philosophic tendency of Hengstenberg, at first awakened by his interest in practical philosophy, subsequently took a more historical direction, under the influence of that profound investigator of the history of philosophy, Brandis. At his instigation and under his guidance, Hengstenberg undertook, towards the close of his residence at Bonn, a translation of the Metaphysics of Aristotle, (Bonn, 1824,) to which Brandis was to have annexed observations, which however have never appeared. In the midst of all these occupations he continued the study of Oriental literature, which he had pursued with zeal from the commencement of his literary life, and brought out, in a way that did him honor, a prize edition of an Arabian writer (Am ruckeisi Moallakah, Bonn, 1823.) He early resolved, after completing his three years' course of philology, to study theology for an equal period at Berlin. He went however to Basle, with a recommendation from Sacy, to instruct a young man in the Oriental languages. At Basle the revolution in his religious

sentiments appears to have taken place, probably under the influence of the Pietists, whose missionary society in that place afforded them the means of exerting an influence there.

His relations to the Prussian government, which, on account of his active participation in the *Burschenschaft*, had not been disposed to favor his wishes for employment in the service of the state, now assumed a more encouraging aspect. During his residence at Basle, the Prussian government requested him to present a report of the studies that he had pursued, after which he was allowed to reside as a private instructer in theology at Berlin, without having gone through a regular course of theology. He was now promoted rapidly, being made, in 1826 extraordinary professor of theology, in 1828 ordinary professor, and in 1829 Doctor of Theology. As an academical teacher, he confined his efforts almost entirely to lectures on Oriental literature. His literary productions were only a few small pieces, for instance, "On the Relation of the inner Word to the outer" (Berlin, 1825), "The Ordinance of the Prussian Ministry respecting Mysticism, Pietism, and Separatism, accompanied with some Observations and an authentic Explanation," (Berlin, 1826); until, in 1827, he became editor of the well known *Evangelischen Kirchenzeitung*, ("Journal of the Evangelic Church,") in which capacity he has acquired a certain celebrity. In the midst however of his practical and controversial labors as editor, he has not ceased to occupy himself with subjects more purely literary, particularly the Oriental languages and literature. His "Christology of the Old Testament," (first and second division of the first part, Berlin, 1829,) and his "Contributions to an Introduction to the Old Testament," first volume, Berlin, 1830, are proofs of this. But the tone of these works by no means evinces merely the interest of a scholar in the language and history of the Old Testament: they are written in the spirit, and to promote the objects, of the religious party with which the author has identified himself. They are obviously intended, by the aid of the new lights which have been shed, of late years, on the Oriental languages and history, to support the old prejudice, that the Messiah is predicted in the prophecies of the Old Testament, and thereby to maintain the dogma of the divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, which modern biblical criticism has done so much to invalidate, particularly in respect to the Old Testament. This party character has given these works a celebrity, which their literary merit would hardly have attracted. Men of acknowledged eminence in this department of literature, as Baumgarten-Crusius and Paulus, have shown in their criticisms on these works, that, notwithstanding the learning and sophistical acuteness which they manifest, the doctrinal opinions on which they are based are far from being established.

Hengstenberg first clearly exhibited his character, when he became editor of the "Journal of the Evangelic Church," and head or advocate of the party of which it is the organ. We must give the character of this party somewhat in detail, on account of the interest which it excites at the present time. This character it is not easy to express in a single word, since, as appears even from the names of the collaborators in that journal, the party is composed of very diverse elements. If we confine ourselves to the professions of its members, we see them assume (as appears even from the name *Evangelic*, which they annex not merely to their journal, but also to themselves and their creed,) to be the representatives and defenders of the true primitive Evangelic church, against the attacks of Rationalism, or rather of the general sentiment and enlightened spirit of modern times. The support and defence of the unity of doctrine in the Evangelic church, as set forth in the expositions of its faith, is, according to the terms of the prospectus of the "Journal of the Evangelic Church," its great object. Together with this object, it is intended, according to a subsequent editorial annunciation, to defend the pure doctrine of objective divine truth, not only against Deism and Rationalism, but also against Supernaturalism, so far as it will not unconditionally surrender speculative reason, corrupted by sin, to divine revelation, also against the uncertain faith of feeling, and against unevangelic Mysticism and Pietism.

But the groundlessness of the claim of this party to possess exclusively the name *Evangelic*, and to speak and act in the name and for the interest of the whole Evangelic Church, has been settled by enlightened public opinion in this Church. The Evangelic Church is in its highest principles, those which guided the reformers and have been distinctly acknowledged in later times, a Church of free religious conviction. She subjects the faith of her members to no human authority, and recognises no general expression of belief, except the divine truth revealed in the Holy Scriptures; and for a knowledge of this she authorizes them to rely on independent investigation and the unbiassed convictions of the understanding. Symbolic books, composed by men, she cannot regard as furnishing an obligatory rule of faith, and these have in point of fact for a long time ceased to have such authority; since it has been made evident from history, that the only object, for which they were originally drawn up, was to distinguish clearly the then existing belief of the Protestants from the doctrines of the Catholics, and that it was only through mistake that they were allowed for a time the authority of a creed.* The supporters of the "Journal of the Evangelic Church,"

* Of late Scheidler, (*Oppositionsschrift*, third volume, first part,) has shown by a thorough investigation of authorities, that the Confession of Augsburg is essentially, and was originally, only an apologetic treatise containing *articles of peace*, but without claims to the character of a church-constitution.

proceed therefore upon an unfounded assumption, when they appropriate to themselves exclusively the character of Evangelic, because they labor to maintain the authoritative character of the old Symbolic doctrine. They directly contravene the principles of the Protestant Church by rejecting and attacking the free exercise of reason on questions connected with religious faith, and no less its historical character by insisting more on the doctrines of the Symbolic books than on those of the Bible, and seeking to make the latter dependent on the former by a dogmatic or traditional mode of interpretation.

But this party has never in fact remained faithful to the Symbolic doctrines of the Church. How a full assent can be rendered to the letter of a doctrine, which received its form in a time long past, under the influence of modes of thought and general circumstances, intellectual culture, philosophical principles, and historical aids, all very unlike those of the present day, is a psychological phenomenon. Eminent theologians, moreover, have very frequently shown that the "Journal of the Evangelic Church" has departed in particular points from the symbolic books. In particular, it contains elements of mysticism, pietism, fanaticism, and separatism, which are expressly rejected by the old Church, so that it has not unjustly been charged with following the path of Munzer and Schwenkfeld. The terms just used, however, express but imperfectly the character of this party; for the words *mystic* and *pietist* are usually employed in much too indefinite a manner, and, when reduced to a more precise meaning, become inapplicable. Mysticism has its origin in a deeper and purer feeling of devotion than has been manifested by the greater portion of this party. Its spirit too is more unshackled, and is seldom prone to render so servile a homage to dead dogmatic forms as that which we see among the so-called Evangelic party. But Pietism has not, either in its sound state as exhibited in Spener's school, nor in its disordered state as seen in the modern conventicles, shown either the dogmatic asperity, or the fanatical striving for a hierarchical character, which have been manifested by this party. Unquestionably the whole party may be ranked with the Supernaturalists, but the principles of Supernaturalism lie only at the basis of their character; theoretically, as unconditional faith in a supernatural revelation, and practically, as the doctrine of inherited guilt and the absolute incapacity of men for good, of happiness to be obtained by grace alone, and of redemption by the vicarious sufferings of Christ, according to the theory of sin advanced by St. Augustine, and repeated in the Symbolic books in consequence of the personal authority of the reformers. The peculiar character of this party therefore would be far from correctly expressed by the term *Supernaturalism*, since the Supernaturalists have never reached the same height of fanaticism, and since the common form of Supernaturalism has been

often attacked in the "Journal of the Evangelic Church" as indecisive and lukewarm, or as dead Orthodoxy; and the Supernaturalists on their part have often, in common with the Rationalists, raised their voice against the Evangelic party, particularly in the well known controversy of Halle. A clear view of the motley character of this sect, and a proof of their wide departure from the unity and purity of doctrine at which they ostensibly aim, will be afforded by an examination of some of the principal directors of the "Journal of the Evangelic Church." The head of the sect, Hengstenberg, deprives the prophets of the Old Testament of all independent understanding and consciousness, by representing them as blindly and passively actuated by the divine spirit in their prophecies; a doctrine which, so far from being conformable to that of the Church, converts divine inspiration into a New-Platonic ecstasy, and which, considered with reference to the Church, may lead to very important consequences, respecting the divinity of Christianity, since the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures collectively rests on the predictions of the Messiah in the prophecies of the Old Testament, and as that of the New Testament, and we may even say the authority of Christ himself is endangered, because the prophecies of Christ have a similar character. The basis of Church doctrine is shaken when Hengstenberg substitutes for the free and simple interpretation of Scripture, sometimes an exegetical tradition as in his "Christology of the Old Testament," sometimes a mystical explanation resting upon the "internal experience," so called. (*Journal of the Evangelic Church*, 1832, No. 10.) How little he is supported in these and similar doctrines by Tholuck, who ranks next to him, and in learning and philosophical cultivation is the ablest of the party, appears from the fact, that he, in his exegetical writings, has always pursued a free method of interpretation. But even his theory of sin cannot pretend to be the true doctrine of the Church.

Far from him, on one side, stands Hahn, who in his dogmatic writings proceeds on the principles of Rationalism, and only leans inconsistently to Supernaturalism; and on the other side Steffens (who, ostensibly Orthodox, accommodates the formulæ of the Church to the speculations of natural philosophy), and the mystic Platonizing Heinroth. Together with these, we see also the free spiritual character of the Pietism of Neander opposing itself to the rigid creed of the Church, and the mystic Gnosis of Olshausen, and, on the other hand, the dialectically formed Christianity of Göschel, who attempted to construct the Church system according to the formulæ of Hegel. We may hear also the confused outcries of the dreamy speculatists, in tones sometimes wildly fanatical, sometimes nauseously sweet, sometimes unrestrainedly fantastic, sometimes monkishly dark: from De Valenti, Grundtvig Guerike Krummacher, Böttiger-Reichmeister, Stier von Gerlach,

Von Meyer, Schmieder, Rudelbach, &c. Consider too the open quarrels of the former collaborators in the "Journal of the Evangelic Church," Neander and Steudel, on the occasion of their withdrawing from it. In the midst of this variety and motley mixture of religious sentiments and speculative views, it is vain to hope to find a general system of well defined doctrines, and there remains to the party only an ecclesiastico-political character. The party is formed, as has been already remarked, by the union of all who are dissatisfied with the freedom of the religious spirit of our time; it is the party of religious reaction, which strives by an external union to obtain an ecclesiastico-political influence. Inwardly convulsed by the most jarring elements, religious and dogmatic, and, at the most, loosely connected by the acknowledgment of a supernatural revelation and of the Augustino-Lutheran doctrine of sin and redemption, it is held together only by the common interest of its members in resisting all free intellectual action in matters of religion, and by the purpose of obtaining ecclesiastical power. As the basis of their operations, they take possession of the existing Protestant Church, by assuming to be the true original Church, and expelling all men of liberal opinions as apostates. Thus all the various classes of the new sect unite in the effort to accommodate themselves as much as possible to the forms of Symbolic Orthodoxy, in order to advance, with the war-cry of purity and unity of doctrine, in closed ranks against all who dissent from them. The unlimited authority of the Symbolic doctrines of the Church, the suppression of all use of reason, of all endeavour for advancement in religious views, the exercise of a hierarchical power in the Christian Church, these were the ecclesiastico-political principles in which the new sect originated.

With an effrontery hitherto unheard of in the Christian Church, this party has shown, particularly in the "Journal of the Evangelic Church," a settled system of intolerance, denunciation, and resistance to the progress of religious light, a striving for ecclesiastical power and inquisitorial jurisdiction, obviously aiming at the establishment of a Protestant hierarchy, which, under the iron sway of an immutable, dead, Symbolic letter, must far exceed in rigor the Roman hierarchy, which in the person of the Pope has a principle of life. The germ of this mode of thinking lies in the very nature of Supernaturalism, as soon as it is applied in a consistent manner to life. Theoretical Supernaturalism, belief in a supernaturally revealed, absolute, divine truth, includes the recognition of an infallible doctrine and the necessity of a particular creed to salvation, and therefore in its practical application leads directly to intolerance, coercion, and hierarchical sway. Practical Supernaturalism, with its doctrine of the corruption of man's nature, and of salvation through grace alone, leads directly

to the same result; since the natural tendency of men, on these principles, must be to the overthrow of all moral order, and they therefore require to be restrained by external force, by hierarchical compulsion in the name of God. The principles of tolerance, of religious freedom, and of pure moral order, are essentially those of the Rationalists. However, the struggle between Rationalism and Supernaturalism existed a long time before it took this practical direction. It was only a conflict of opposite speculations, which excited little general interest, and was considered in a practical view insignificant, as in some measure it is still. Of late years various circumstances have given a new turn to the contest, and the once mild, quiet, and discreet Supernaturalism has acquired a passionate, intolerant, and fanatical character. The excitement produced by the German war of independence in the years 1813–1815, contributed greatly to produce this change. Then there was united with the hatred against the French and their political liberalism, a religious reaction against Rationalism. As the prevailing political feeling was a wish to restore the feudal aristocratical forms of the old German empire, which had been in a great measure overthrown after the Revolution by French influence, so there was a strong tendency to construct a new religious creed from the fragments of the old.

The political restoration was connected with one of an ecclesiastico-religious character. From this period principally proceeded the reaction against freedom of spirit in matters of religion, which showed itself in various ways. At the same time efforts were made in the Catholic Church to restore the old forms and old power of the hierarchy, and in the Protestant Church to revive the authority of the old Symbols. Whether there is any formal but secret connexion between these two parties may be uncertain, although there are grounds for supposing its existence; but there is no doubt that they are closely united in principle. But, while these efforts in the Catholic Church are supported by the still existing power of the Pope and the hierarchy, and therefore may pretend to be made in the cause of the Church, the same spirit among Protestants is not favored by the existing constitution of their Church, nor in fact in any considerable degree by the secular authorities; and it therefore made its first appearance in the conventicles of Separatists, and at first, under the name of Mysticism and Pietism, was but little regarded. Pietism was a practical manifestation of the principles of Supernaturalism, but only in its application to the life of the individual, and under the shape of a narrow-minded Moravian aversion to the world, a morbid religious sensibility and intoxication of feeling, a stiff devotion and spiritual arrogance. Its adherents however maintained in their conventicles the still and quiet character of Separatism, without

disturbing the convictions of others except by their proselytizing zeal. But it was natural that the party of reaction should attach itself to this society of Pietists, in which it found a multitude of minds prepared to enter into its plans. Aided by various other circumstances, particularly the favor of many princes and political functionaries, the adherents of this party have of late years attempted to make an application of their principles to public life, and to raise themselves by attacking the existing state of religion and the Church. They have now left their conventicles, and have begun to be felt in the state and the Church. The principles of Supernaturalism respecting saving faith and the corruption of man's nature have become in practice hierarchical, and inimical to the spread of light. Thus the once harmless party of the Pietists has acquired a political character and has run into fanaticism. The most obvious manifestation of this new epoch has been the establishment of the "Journal of the Evangelic Church."

In other ways also the active zeal of this party of hierarchical *obscurants* has been clearly exhibited. North Germany, especially Prussia, is the principal seat of their influence, which extends to all parts of Germany and to other countries, especially England. Conventicles or prayer-meetings, Missionary, Bible, and Tract Societies, which are found particularly all over Prussia, form so many points of union, and maintain a close connexion among all the members of the sect. The centre of their activity, the state journal or government paper of the new ecclesiastical power, is the "Journal of the Evangelic Church," in which are daily published sentences of condemnation against unbelievers, trials of the suspected, and laws for the direction of the faithful. We must therefore say a few words respecting its operations.

The first words of its prospectus announce an object hostile to the spirit of religious freedom, namely, that of preserving a strict unity respecting the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, as set forth in the writings containing the creed of the Church; and every number maintains the hypothesis of the existence of indubitable divine truth, and demands the unconditional submission of human reason to the doctrine of the Church. In perfect consistency with these principles, intolerance, religious restraint, and proscription have been unblushingly advocated, and their opposites have been branded as weak lukewarmness, and only fit for those who have merely "subjective opinions." These principles have been applied according to the measure of the party's strength, in the "Journal of the Evangelic Church," against the most distinguished theologians among the Rationalists, who are attacked, not with argument, but with contumely and denunciation. Thus Röhr, Krug, Niemeyer, Schultz, Von Cölln, Clausen, and even Schleiermacher, have been proscribed as apostates and heathens. The

struggle against Rationalism is represented as the struggle of religion against infidelity, of Christianity against Heathenism, of the divine against the human, the truth against falsehood. Not merely the proper Rationalists, but even Supernaturalists, when they do not bow unconditionally to their system, are subjected to the same condemnation; witness Bretschneider, Goldhorn, Steudel, Neander, Fritzsche, Rust. Dinter, particularly, who deserves so much credit for his "Schoolmaster's Lexicon," has often been made the object of their attacks. The "Hours of Devotion," which have afforded religious edification to many thousands, have been decried as a book wholly unchristian, as a "Bible of Naturalism." The most striking instance of the inquisitorial spirit of the "Journal of the Evangelic Church," is its attacks on the two professors at Halle, Wegscheider and Gesenius. It could not escape the New Evangelicals, that the struggle in which they were engaged could not be confined within the limits of theology and religious doctrine; they must have seen that the spirit of free inquiry, which they strove to suppress and to subject to the dead letter of their Orthodoxy, extended to all the departments of life and intellectual activity, and they have therefore applied their light-resisting principles with a skill and method not to be mistaken, wherever a spirit of free inquiry was to be found. Thus they have attacked the age and its general spirit. "The religion of cultivated minds," say they, "is a religion of Heathenism, Mohammedanism, and false philosophy," the whole tone of modern sentiment and intellectual cultivation is idolatry, the whole of the enthusiasm for art and science in our time is only a substitute for the extinct spirit of religion, and is "an expression of a heathen tone of mind." Thus the heroes of German literature, Schiller, Göthe, Jean Paul, Herder, Jacobi, Winckelmann must submit to the sentence of this inquisitorial tribunal, and the free play of their genius be condemned as unchristian and heretical, according to the narrow standard of a dead Orthodoxy.

All branches of science and art they have attempted to subject to the standard of the Church and the Bible. According to their confined views, philosophy, education, and poetry must take their character from Christianity. Intellectual philosophy has been adapted to the standard of Supernaturalism, as, for instance, Heinroth attempted to establish psychologically the doctrines of sin and redemption (Vol. II. No. 18 *et seq.*); even Natural Science, in spite of its gigantic progress in our time, must bow to the crude notions of the Israelites as given in the Bible, and particularly the best established results of modern geology must be condemned as irreligious, because inconsistent with the Mosaic account of the creation. In politics also the "Journal of the Evangelic Church" opposes unhesitatingly the liberal spirit, and struggles strenuously

against the efforts of the people for free constitutions and civic rights. The whole tendency of the "Journal of the Evangelic Church," is therefore to destroy the fruits of a spirit of free inquiry, and to introduce darkness and barbarism in science, art, morals, politics, under the influence of a dead Orthodoxy. That the party will fail in its object we cannot doubt, when we consider the omnipotence of the spirit of our times, which, once avowed, will break down all obstructions. Not the Protestant Church only, which in its history and spirit belongs to Rationalism, but our whole intellectual cultivation, science, art, morals, civil order, and legislation depend for existence on intellectual freedom; and if the stiffened form of an obsolete faith is to be thrust into its place, all these must perish. The madness of fanaticism alone could make the attempt.

ART. III.—*Female Convents. Secrets of Nunneries Disclosed. Compiled from the Autograph Manuscripts of Scipio de' Ricci, Roman Catholic Bishop of Pistoia and Prato.* By M. DE POTTER. Edited by THOMAS ROSCOE. With an Introductory Essay and Appendix. New York. 1834. 12mo. pp. 268.

THE American editor of this compilation had in view the state of the market, and not the contents of the work he was about to publish, in fixing on the title-page here given. The book is made up, with but little skill or judgment, out of the "Memoirs of Scipio de' Ricci," formerly noticed in this Journal.* The disclosures respecting convents fill some dozen pages, and the rest of the volume contains accounts of the various reforms attempted without success by the Tuscan prelate, and of his subsequent recantation, his reconciliation with the Pope, and his death. Neither this, nor any other of the numerous publications which have appeared in the Catholic controversy, gives any thing like a connected view of the

* March, 1830; the title-page as there given being, "*Memoirs of Scipio de' Ricci, late Bishop of Pistoia and Prato, Reformer of Catholicism in Tuscany under the Reign of Leopold. Compiled from the Autograph Manuscripts of that Prelate, and the Letters of other distinguished Persons of his Times.* Edited from the original of M. DE POTTER, by THOMAS ROSCOE. London. 1829. 2 vols. 8vo.

constitution, history, and present state of Monastic Institutions; and this defect it is our present purpose to supply, so far as it can be done in the space we have to spare for such a topic.

Whoever examines the New Testament with a view to this subject, will find it so filled and saturated, if we may be allowed the expression, with the social feeling, and with a desire for the improvement and happiness of men considered as members of society, as to make it necessary for him to look elsewhere for the origin of the monastic spirit and institutions. Neither will he be able to find much authority or encouragement for so unnatural a mode of life in the example of the primitive Christians for the first two centuries. Tertullian wrote his "Apology," about the year 200, in the forty-second chapter of which he takes up the charge, often brought by the Pagans against the Christians, of being a useless sort of people. "How," says he, "can such an accusation lie against those, who live among you, who share the same fare with you, and the same clothing, and have the same common wants of life? For we are no Brahmins, nor Indian Gymnosophists; we are no dwellers in the woods, no men who have left the common haunts of life; we feel deeply the gratitude we owe to God, our Lord and Creator; we despise not the enjoyment of any of his works; we only desire to moderate this enjoyment in such a manner that we may avoid excess and misuse. We, therefore, inhabit this world in common with you, and we make use of baths, of shops, workshops, and fairs, and all that is used in the intercourse of life. We also carry on, in common with you, navigation, war, agriculture, and trade; we take part in your occupations, and our labors, when needful, we give to the public service."

Various causes conspired, however, especially in the East, even at that early period, gradually to introduce into the Church that admiration of asceticism, and the habits and sanctity of the recluse, out of which the regular monastic institutions afterwards arose. And, first, we may mention the climate itself, which seems to have had something to do in making the hermit's life so common in Egypt, Syria, India, and Mesopotamia, long before the Christian era, and, since that time, among Mohammedans and Hindoos as well as Christians. The glowing atmosphere of those countries naturally induces, it is said, that love of solitude and repose, and that indolent and melancholy disposition for which the inhabitants have

always been so remarkable. To this must be added the practical tendency of that radical element of almost every form of the Oriental philosophy, once so prevalent, which represents matter as the source of all evil, and the body as the prison-house of the soul, by which it is darkened and defiled and chained down to earthly things. The inference was natural and unavoidable, that in the same proportion as men restrained and mortified and exhausted the body, the soul would be freed, purified, and exalted. Then there was the distinction and honor, which this show of self-denial and self-mortification was almost sure to obtain for them, a lure not likely to be thrown away on either sex. Persons were no longer content with simple goodness; they thirsted after an extraordinary goodness; many, we may reasonably suppose, being not a little influenced by the circumstance that it was extraordinary, and would give them consequence and fame. With these causes, also, coöperated the frequent persecutions, to which the early Christians were subjected, and which drove many of the most active and zealous among them to secrete themselves for a time in caves, and tombs, and deep solitudes. Here finding leisure and opportunity to nourish and indulge the fervors of an already overheated imagination, we cannot wonder, that some became enamoured of a way of life which they had adopted in the first instance from necessity, and that they afterwards continued it from choice.

The title of "Patriarch of Monks," is given by Catholics to St. Antony, not as being the first hermit, but the first who collected together several hermits, and taught them to live in a community and under a sort of rule. He was born at Coma, a village near Heraclea, in Upper Egypt, A. D. 251. His parents, who were Christians, appear to have taken great pains to educate him and a younger sister religiously; and by their death he was left at the age of twenty with the charge of this sister, and in possession of a considerable fortune. "Near six months after," say his biographers, "he heard read in the church those words of Christ to the rich young man: 'Go sell what thou hast, and give it to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven.' He considered these words as addressed to himself; going home he made over to his neighbours three hundred *aruras*, that is, above one hundred and twenty acres of good land, that he and his sister might be free for ever from all public taxes and burdens.

The rest of his estate he sold, and gave the price to the poor, except what he thought necessary for himself and his sister. Soon after, hearing in the church those other words of Christ, 'Be not solicitous for to-morrow,' he also distributed in alms the movables which he had reserved, and placed his sister in a house of virgins, which most moderns take to be the first instance mentioned in history of a nunnery."* Antony himself retired into a solitude near his village, where he led the life of a hermit until the age of thirty-five. He then withdrew still further into the deserts, crossed the eastern branch of the Nile, and took up his abode in the ruins of an old castle on the top of the mountains, and there passed almost twenty years in close seclusion, very rarely seeing any man, except one who brought him bread every six months. Meanwhile the fame of the monk's austerities and sanctity induced numbers of a like disposition to renounce the world, and come to reside in the same country; and it was at the instance of these men, as Catholic writers affirm, that, about the year 305, he came down from his mountain, and founded the first monastery at Phaium, not far from the river, and on the confines of Upper and Middle Egypt. Wearied and disgusted, however, as we are told, by the dissipations occasioned by this business, and feeling that the place had become altogether too public and too much frequented for him, he once more struck into still deeper and more remote solitudes, and established himself on a high mountain near the Red Sea, where he founded another monastery, and ended his days.

It would lead us aside from our purpose to recount the legends respecting the visions and revelations of this Saint, and his frequent rencounters with wild beasts, griffins, and the Evil One; which, addressed to Protestant ears, would at best but raise a smile, and sometimes hardly that. It is but justice, however, to say, not only of him, but of the Fathers of the Desert generally, and of most of the founders and reformers of the monastic orders, that whoever denounces them as mere impostors, does but betray his own ignorance of the subject and of human nature. They were visionaries, fanatics, monomaniacs,—men who, in consequence of their peculiar tempera-

* Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*. Vol. I. p. 208. This book, in twelve volumes, 8vo. is full of curious information on the subject of Catholic biography, and very interesting to one who loves to study the varieties of moral and religious hallucination.

ment, and the various exciting influences to which they were exposed, had become insane on the subject of religion, if on no other; so that on this subject they did not, and could not, distinguish their imaginations from realities. Besides, it is not enough considered, that there are mental as well as bodily distempers, which sometimes take on the laws of an epidemic, and spread by an extreme contagiousness, against which the strongest and best minds are not always proof. So it was at the period of which we are now speaking, and for some time afterwards, with this strange passion for a life of solitude, and self-mortification; and some idea may be formed of the extent to which it was carried from an account of the Eastern monks of the fifth century, given by Evagrius, one of their own number. "Some," says he, "shut up in monasteries, exercise all sort of macerations; some dwell in little dens of the earth just big enough to hold them; others, of a more eminent degree, males and females, repair to desert places, wearing nothing except a small covering of their nakedness; and, walking on all fours, eat grass and roots like the beasts, and if they see any passenger, they run away and hide themselves." He also mentions another sort, more perfect than either of the former, who haunted cities, and places of the greatest resort, "pretending to be mad," and vindicating their claim to that character by unspeakable indecencies and excesses.*

It was probably with a view to temper and restrain the wild licentiousness of these solitary monks, "who," as Jortin says, "dwelt apart, each in his hole, so that most of them kept sad company," that Antony began, as we have seen, to collect them into communities, and to subject them to some sort of rule. St. Pachomius, however, according to Catholic authorities, was the first who composed a written rule for their conduct, about the year 340. "The communities under his direction inhabited the desert of Tabenne, an island in the Nile, between the town of Girgè and the ancient Thebes. Thirty or forty monks occupied one house; thirty or forty houses composed a monastery, and the desert of Tabenne contained about thirteen monasteries. A dean was placed over every ten monks; every house had its superior, every monastery its abbot, and a general director superintended all. Every Sunday, all the monks of the monastery met at its com-

* Jortin's *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II. pp. 167, 168.

mon oratory: and, at Easter, the monks of all the communities, sometimes amounting to fifty thousand, assembled in one body for its celebration." * The number, as here given by Mr. Butler, in accordance with most other authorities on the subject, is perhaps exaggerated; but that it was very great we cannot doubt, if any reliance whatever is to be put on the testimony of Rufinus, who travelled in Egypt soon after Pachomius's death. He assures us, as an eye-witness, "that there were almost as many monks in the deserts, as inhabitants in the cities; that in the city of Oxirinca, there were more monasteries than houses; that the divine praises resounded there all the hours of the day and night; and that he had been informed by the bishop of that place, that there were in it twenty thousand virgins consecrated to God, and ten thousand religious men. He affirms, he had also seen the priest Serapion, the Father of many monasteries, and Superior of about ten thousand religious men." †

The enthusiasm for a monastic life passed from the East into Europe along with the monks who were driven thither under the Arian persecutions; they having generally sided with Athanasius, as believers in the trinity. Among these were undoubtedly many holy men of blameless conversation; but there is also too much reason for believing, that, as the enthusiasm became a fashion, and the fashion was copied by a more phlegmatic people, the excesses of fanaticism began to give place to the arts of cunning and knavery. For this, indeed, we have an authority not to be suspected in this case, that of Augustine, who, writing in the fifth century, gives, in his book "Of the Business of Monks," the following picture of those whom he calls "hypocrites in monastic habits, with whom the Devil has overspread the world." "They travel," says he, "from province to province, without any mission; they have no fixed habitation, and abide in no place; they continually alter their station. Some carry relics about, if relics they are, and make an advantage of them; others take much upon them by reason of their habit and profession; some say they are going to see their kindred, who, as they have heard, dwell in such a country; but they all beg, and take it ill if you give

* Charles Butler's *Confessions of Faith and Essays*, p. 169.

† Stevens's *History of the Ancient Abbeys, Manasteries, &c.* Vol. I. p. 18.

them not, either to supply the wants of such a poverty as enriches them, or to recompense a seeming and counterfeit honesty." * Probably it was disgust at this growing degeneracy of his brethren pretending to live, some under one rule of discipline, and some under another, which led Benedict, commonly styled by Catholic writers the Patriarch of Western Monks, to separate himself from them all, and found a convent of his own at Mount Cassino, between Rome and Naples. Here he is supposed, about the middle of the sixth century, to have instituted the rule of the order bearing his name; and from this time the Benedictines, and the various orders, and sub-orders and congregations emanating from them, have constituted the great body of the regular monks of the West; and their rule, as it has been the groundwork of most subsequent ones, is sometimes styled, by way of distinction, the Holy Rule. The monks and nuns of the East, however, and particularly those of the Greek Church, still follow, for the most part, the Rule of St. Basil.

And here it may be proper to say a few words in explanation of the discipline of the ancient monks, and of monastic *vows* and *rules*. †

Painful and revolting as were many of the modes of self-torture adopted by the early anchorites, there is good reason for believing, that, so long as they were resorted to from a real though mistaken sense of religion, they were commonly inflicted without dissimulation, and in good earnest. Besides, to borrow the candid and judicious remarks of Dr. Jortin, "since some of the ancient monks seem to have been pious, honest, well-meaning, and sensible men, a doubt will arise, whether the writers of their lives have not sometimes misrepresented them, as using more rigors and self-maceration than they really exercised; and whether they have not ascribed to them some freaks and follies into which they never fell, as well as miracles which they never performed." ‡ At any rate it does not appear to have been the object of Antony, and the others who first gathered the monks into religious houses, and prescribed regu-

* Dupin's *History of Ecclesiastical Writers*, Vol. III. pp. 183, 184.

† We do not include in this memoir any account of the Society of Jesus, or the four Military Orders; as these are peculiar and comparatively modern institutions.

‡ *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II. p. 172.

lations for the government and discipline of the same, to multiply these "freaks and follies," but rather, perhaps, to repress them, by introducing some uniform mode of dress and diet which should be cheap and abstemious, it is true, but not destructive of health, or incompatible with decency. Accordingly the sheepskin cloak worn by the Egyptian monks, was no other, we are told, than the common one used by the peasants of the country at that time; and a similar remark is also said to be applicable to the scapular and cowl, or frock and hood, as originally worn by the Benedictines in Italy, where these were then the ordinary dress of the middle and poorer classes.

The singularity in the dress of monks, therefore, as in that of the Quakers, does not seem to be attributable to design, but to the fact, that, while the fashion with others has been continually changing, theirs has undergone no alteration. In regard to diet, Pachomius made a monk's daily allowance to be twelve ounces of biscuit; to be taken by him at two repasts, one early in the afternoon, and the other late in the evening; with an occasional, but not a very frequent addition of cheese, fruit, herbs, and small dried fish. Benedict, who legislated for a people living under colder latitudes, and accustomed to a more substantial fare, was obliged to be a little more liberal in this respect; eking out the daily rations with a measure containing about three quarters of a pint of wine, which his disciples exchanged, in the more northern countries, for a proportional allowance of strong beer or cider. Still he, like Pachomius, meant, it is understood, wholly to forbid the use of meat, except in cases of serious illness; though by a strange oversight the prohibition, in terms, does not extend to meat or flesh generally, but only to "the flesh of four-footed animals," and this some of his followers chose to construe into a tacit allowance of poultry, to which, as might be presumed, the holy brotherhood became addicted not a little. At two o'clock in the morning the convent bell summoned the Benedictines to prayers, the *nocturnal;* at six, to *matins;* at nine, to the *tierce;* at twelve, to the *sexte;* at three in the afternoon, to the *none;* at six, to *vespers;* and a little after seven, to *compline:* the monks then retired to rest. The part of the day not given to public religious services was methodically divided into hours for study or solitary contemplation, and those for refection and manual labor.

Such were some of the early monastic rules,—a rule being nothing but the *constitution* of a particular monastic order. The monastic vows, also, are nothing but formal and public acts, by which the novice, on taking the habit of his order, binds himself to observe the indispensable conditions of the monastic life. These are three in number; the vows of obedience, of poverty, and of chastity. By the Vow of Obedience, whoever takes it binds himself to submit to the rule of his order, and the will of his Superior; by the Vow of Poverty, he renounces all the rights of property, even in so slight an article as a book, a watch, or a pencil, which he can hold and use only by permission of his Superior; by the Vow of Chastity he renounces marriage. In the formulary of profession in the Benedictine and some other orders, the party also expressly vows stability; that is, perpetual residence within the monastery, unless, and only in so far as, his Superior may dispense with it. Then there are the vows which individuals voluntarily take upon themselves, and the peculiar vows by which the different orders and congregations are severally distinguished. Where monastic institutions have been recognised and efficiently sustained by the government, as was the case in many places before the Reformation, and is so still in the more exclusive Catholic countries, breaches of the great vows have been punished as crimes, and sometimes, we believe, capitally. Now, however, even in most Catholic communities, it is generally understood, we suppose, that monks and nuns, notwithstanding their vows, are at liberty on a change of their views and feelings, to quit their profession with impunity so far as their civil relations are concerned, and return into the world. In other words, the breaking of such engagements is looked upon merely as an ecclesiastical offence, which is to be visited, like similar infidelities in Protestant churches, with ecclesiastical censures alone.

Thus far our remarks have related almost exclusively to the establishment and constitution of religious houses for *men*, which makes it necessary for us to go back a little, that we may trace the early history of those for *women*. The latter, indeed, appear to have had precedency of the former in the order of time, being opened very early in cities and large towns; probably in the first instance, as places of refuge for the wives and daughters of martyrs and confessors, who, by the death or exile of their natural protectors in those days of

persecution, were often left entirely destitute and defenceless. Other causes, also, conspired to multiply these institutions; particularly the prevalent notion that a secluded life, wholly devoted to religious exercises, must be peculiarly meritorious in the sight of God; the certainty that such a life was in great honor among men; and the hope, perhaps, here and there, of obtaining a comfortable maintenance from the reverence of the community without personal labor. At any rate many such houses were founded; and they soon fell into some disorders; and our readers may be curious to know what these disorders were: for this reason, among others,—to see whether the besetting sins of the sex, if we may be allowed so uncourteous an expression, were the same then as now.

Vanity, or ostentation as regards furniture, apparel, and personal appearance, is the first offence recorded against them. This was carried to such an extent, that Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was obliged to write a formal letter of expostulation in regard to the variety of dress, and the love of pomp, which, so early as the middle of the third century, had crept in among the rich vestals in his diocese.* The second scandal on record, which brought down upon them the rebuke of their ghostly fathers, was as follows; for the truth may as well be told. Grievous complaints were made to St. Benedict, when at Mount Cassino, against certain female devotees in the neighbourhood for indulging in unwarrantable liberties of speech; in short, as being tattlers or scolds, it does not certainly appear which. Whereupon the Saint, as Stevens, the antiquarian, tells us gravely, "ordered these very words to be delivered to those religious women from him. 'Govern your tongues; for if you do not stand corrected, I excommunicate you.'" †

Here, however, it is proper to observe, that the female devotees just mentioned, though they lived secluded from the world, and in religious houses, do not appear to have been bound to these houses, or to any fixed monastic rule, as nuns now are, by a formal vow. Father Mabillon inclines to date the institution of the first regular Benedictine nunnery from the year 620; since which time abbeys, monasteries, and convents, for women as well as for men, have been founded in connexion with all the religious orders and con-

* Neander's *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, Vol. I. p. 312.

† *History of the Ancient Abbeys, Monasteries, &c.* Vol. I. p. 168.

gregations, and in almost every part of the world. The internal government of the nunneries resembles that of other religious houses in all respects; the abbess, or Lady Superior, possessing a like despotic power in regard to discipline, and in general the same dignity and authority, as the abbot, except that she cannot exercise the spiritual functions pertaining to the priesthood. She cannot, for example, confess her nuns: though it appears that, in ancient times, she was even allowed to do this; and that the privilege was withdrawn, according to the learned father Dom Martene, in his treatise on the "Rites of the Church," in consequence of its being found, that there was no end to the questions, with which female curiosity would ply the penitent. In their external relations the religious houses of the women, like those of the men, are subject, as a general rule, to the bishop of the diocese, to the general or superintendent of the order, and finally and unreservedly to the Pope.

Having now thus briefly sketched the early constitution and history of monastic institutions, our attention is next called to that decay of discipline and general licentiousness, into which they fell, by confession of all parties, during what are termed the Middle or Dark Ages.

From the eighth to the twelfth century these institutions continued to multiply astonishingly. Multitudes flocked to them of all ages, conditions, and characters; some from devotion, some from ambition, some from timidity, some from remorse, some because they were weary of the world, and some because the world was weary of them. Children of the most opulent families, ladies of the highest fashion, courtiers, warriors, nobles, kings, were of the number; and they did not go empty-handed: and many who were not ready to give themselves, gave what the monks were quite willing to take as a substitute, — their money or their lands. In this way the revenues of many of the communities soon became enormous. The humble cabins, which sheltered the early monks, were exchanged for those vast, expensive, and imposing structures, which still stand in almost every European country as the proudest monuments of Gothic wealth and taste; and their territorial possessions also soon began to rival those of the most powerful barons. Moreover in process of time, the cloister began to be regarded as being, what indeed it was, the fairest and most direct road of preferment to the highest

dignities in the church, not excepting the triple crown; nay, for a long period, even to the highest civil employments, whether as regents, foreign envoys, or ministers of state. The wealthiest monasteries and abbeys, in former times, were in Germany; of which one of the most splendid and powerful was that of Fulda, situated near the town of the same name in Franconia. Every candidate for admission into this princely brotherhood was required, it is said, to prove his nobility; the monks elected their abbot from among themselves, and that dignitary, by right of his office, became Arch-Chancellor to the Empress, and Prince-Bishop of the diocese of Fulda, and claimed precedence over all the other abbots both of Germany and France. Clugni, on the confines of Burgundy, was another ancient and celebrated monastery, the edifices of which had the appearance, it is said, of a well-built city; and so ample were they, that three crowned heads, with their respective courts, once lodged within the precincts, without moving a single monk from his apartments. Under these circumstances, and knowing what we do of human nature, can we wonder that leisure, and wealth, and ambition, and, above all, that most subtle and dangerous power, the power of wielding at pleasure the fears and superstitions of an ignorant people, corrupted the religious houses; or that this corruption gradually became general, and in the end, and in some cases, extreme?

No one needs seek for stronger language, in which to describe or denounce the vices of the monks of the tenth and eleventh centuries, than may be found in the confessions of monks themselves and other Catholic writers of that day, in the bulls of popes and decrees of councils on this subject, and in the instructions given to commissioners appointed to visit and reform particular communities. Baronius, a learned Italian of the sixteenth century, does not hesitate, though a Catholic, thus to characterize the age in question, having reference particularly to the degeneracy of ecclesiastics. "We now enter on a period, which for its sterility of every excellence may be denominated *iron*; for its luxuriant growth of vice, *leaden*; for its dearth of writers, *dark*." The regular clergy, as the monks are called to distinguish them from the common or secular priesthood, must come in for their share in the condemnation; by whom not only all strictness of discipline, but even the external appearance of religion and decency, were in too many cases en-

tirely sunk and lost in a life of sloth, voluptuousness, and total self-abandonment.*

Before proceeding, however, unqualifiedly to condemn all Religious Houses, on account of the acknowledged disorders and abuses into which they in general fell, we are bound to consider and fairly weigh the mitigating circumstances in the case as urged by apologists for these institutions.

In the first place, it is contended, that the monks of this period were generally rude, illiterate, and licentious, not because they were monks, but because they were men, and lived in an age of general and almost universal barbarism and misrule. Again, it is said, that though some religious houses became extremely corrupt, *extreme* corruption was never general, and that there was no time when some houses could not be found in which, owing to the character of the Superior, or the fraternity, a comparative strictness and purity prevailed. Furthermore, we are reminded of the reformers, who occasionally arose among the monks themselves, even in the very midnight of the Dark Ages, and of the extensive revivals of religion they effected, not only in their own, but also in many neighbouring or affiliated communities. In this connexion, if we had space, particular and honorable mention might be made of the labors of Benedict, abbot of Aniane, in the ninth century, of Odo, abbot of Clugni, in the tenth century, and of the founders of the Congregations of the Carthusians and the Camaldules, in the eleventh century;—all men, whose sincerity and piety, whatever we may think of some of their opinions and measures, are as little to be questioned as those of Luther or any of his coadjutors. Above all, the apologists of monachism may say, and with some truth, that in its worst state, bad as the monks were, they were as a general rule much better than the secular clergy; and bad as the monasteries were, they afforded, nevertheless, the best refuge and asylum which virtue and religion had in those days, and were indeed holy and tranquil retreats compared with the

* Gibbon's anecdote should be referred, we suppose, to times like these, who says: "I have somewhere heard or read the frank confession of a Benedictine abbot,—'My vow of poverty has given me a hundred thousand crowns a year; my vow of obedience has raised me to the rank of a sovereign prince.'" The historian adds in his peculiar manner, "I forget the consequence of his vow of chastity." —*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. VI. p. 255.

castles of the Barons and feudal lords, where, as every one knows, the most unbridled sensuality and ferocity reigned.

Again, though it is not denied that these institutions occasioned some political evils, particularly the formation of so large a class of what political economists call *non-producers*, and the locking up of so large a portion of real property in *mortmain*, that is, in the hands of perpetual corporations, it is alleged by their apologists, that in other respects they were of great service to society and the state. In the first place, the monasteries were always particularly remarkable for their hospitalities, it being a rule with them, more or less religiously observed, that the wayworn and the hungry were never to be turned from their doors; and even the gentry who travelled, regarded them, it is said, as a sort of houses of public entertainment. Many of the great families had foundations, or *corodies*, as they were denominated, in the abbeys, on which their old or decayed servants or dependents were placed, and comfortably supported for the remainder of their days, instead of being turned adrift to starve, or to depend on parish collections. "And as for their distributions of charity," says Collier, a Protestant, writing, in 1714, on the dissolutions of the English monasteries, "it may be guessed from one instance. While the religious houses were standing, there were no provisions of Parliament to relieve the poor; no assessment upon the parish for that purpose. But now this charge upon the kingdom amounts, at a modest computation, to eight hundred thousand pounds *per annum*."* Agriculture, also, was greatly indebted to the monks; for, though the lands bestowed upon them were generally speaking, it is said, the refuse of the soil, it was by the unceasing and regular toil of centuries brought into the highest state of cultivation and productiveness. And as the abbots were justly accounted the most indulgent of landlords, and as they commonly spent almost the whole of their income in the neighbourhood, we are not surprised to find, that, wherever a convent flourished, a thriving village was sure to grow up around it, and the village, in process of time, to become a considerable town. Then,

* *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, Vol. II. p. 165. We are aware that the validity of this argument, as well as the statements on which it rests, have been contested by modern writers, and particularly by Mr. Bulwer.

too, though the revenues of some of the religious houses were large, they were required to furnish their full quota both of money and men for the public service in peace and in war. Probably it was in view of the certainty with which these subsidies could be depended on, and the ease with which they could be collected, that the Emperor Charles the Fifth said, when he heard of the sequestration of the English abbeys,—"Now has Henry killed the hens that laid golden eggs."

Above all, let it not be forgotten, at least in this country, that the monastic institutions formed what Sir James Mackintosh has styled, not inaptly, "the grand democratic element of the middle age." It opened a way, and almost the only one, by which the gifted and active in humble life could raise themselves to the highest places in society. Adrian the Fourth was a poor English boy, who on being cast off by his friends had for some time to beg his bread from door to door. Afterwards, obtaining a situation in the monastery of St. Rufus, in Provence, as a menial servant, he so far recommended himself in this capacity by his abilities and prudence, that he was soon admitted to the order, elected abbot on the first vacancy, then created cardinal-bishop of Albano, and finally, in 1154, placed on the papal throne,—the only Englishman, we believe, who ever attained to that distinction.

But the favorite topic in apologies for the monks of the Middle Ages has always been their important service to the cause of letters.

The first monks were not only illiterate themselves, but condemned learning altogether, on the fanatical ground that God has no need of man's wisdom;—forgetting as Dr. South has pointedly said, that he has still less need of man's ignorance. A long course of leisure and retirement, however, induced their successors, as a relief from the tediousness of absolute inaction, to betake themselves to study and speculation; and in this manner, it would seem, monasteries gradually became the seats and the seminaries of learning;—a poor learning, it is true, but the best that was to be had in those days.* Thither,

* Mr. Berington, in speaking of the tenth century, *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, pp. 188, 189, says: "What regularity of manners and what remains of literature, if the word may yet be used, were still in existence, were found within the walls of convents; where there were some men, at least, of application, of whom not a few devoted their talents to the composition of Annals and Histories

therefore, the sons of the nobility, and others intended for the church or the law, repaired for education, great numbers being attracted sometimes to one place and sometimes to another by the fame of some distinguished teacher, like the Venerable Bede, Alcuin, or Abelard. But, the reputation of these conventual schools began as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to be eclipsed by the rising Universities of Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge; after which it gradually became unfashionable to study at the monasteries, and the business of education there fell into neglect; the attention of such of the monks as were studiously inclined being turned to the composition of those ponderous tomes of scholastic subtilty, the wonder and the jest of modern times.

The world is also under considerable obligations to the monks of the Middle Ages for the care with which they preserved, and the industry with which they labored to multiply copies of the Scriptures, and the ancient classics, though in this respect they have been eulogized by most writers, and particularly by Warton,* in terms which to us seem very extravagant. Several of the great abbeys had their apartment, called the *scriptorium*, where many of the younger inmates of the house were constantly busied in transcribing, not only the service

which partook largely of the characteristic rudeness of the times, but which are still valuable for their air of candor and of truth. Other monks employed themselves in what they called Treatises of Morality which generally consisted of passages strung together from the writings of the Latin fathers, the canons of the councils and the decrees of Popes; while they who were esteemed best qualified, were engaged in the arduous task of education. But though the doors of the schools were open to all, their pupils, at this time, were seldom any other than the young men who were destined for the monastic life. These were initiated in the elements of all knowledge which were contained in the *Trivium* [Grammar, Dialectics, and Rhetoric,] and *Quatervium*, [Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy,] denominated the liberal arts; but we know what were the absurd and disgusting precepts within which they were contracted; in which no space was left for classical erudition; for ethics properly so called; for natural history, or philosophical experiment. And if it ever happened in the narrow circle to which they were restricted, that a genius of more than common powers advanced beyond the confines of his contemporaries, he was suspected of a secret intercourse with the world of spirits, and his acquirements were registered with the theories of the black art."

* *History of English Poetry*, Vol. I. pp. cxliv–cxlviii. Warton was a Protestant. Berington, a Catholic, is less eulogistic See his *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, pp. 189–194.

books for the choir, but books for the library; and distinct revenues were, in some instances, appropriated to this object. The employment appears to have been diligently practised at Croyland in England; for Ingulph relates, that when the library of that convent was burnt, in the year 1091, seven hundred volumes were consumed. Still, as Berington acknowledges, there is the stubborn fact of the extreme scarcity of books during the period of which we are now speaking, which, after all due allowance is made for the unsettled character of the times, the incursions and devastations of the barbarians, the high price of parchment, and the slow process of transcribing, can hardly be reconciled with the supposition that a hundredth part so many pens, as some writers would give us to understand, were busily engaged in this work, at that period.*

After this account of the monks of the Middle Ages, some may be ready to say with an eloquent writer in the "Quarterly Review": † "Tinian and Juan Fernandez are not more beautiful spots on the ocean, than Malmesbury and Lindisfarne, and Jarrow, in the ages of our heptarchy. A community of pious

* "In the most wealthy convents, where libraries were chiefly formed, a short catalogue was sufficient to comprise the number of their books; and the price, to those who were disposed to purchase, was exorbitant. In the lives of the Popes, and of many bishops, the donations of books are recorded, as acts of signal generosity; and, as deserving of perpetual remembrance, the gift was sometimes inscribed even on the monuments of departed benefactors. In the preceding century, [the ninth,] Lupus, abbot of Ferrières in Gaul, in a letter to Benedict the Third, requested the loan of the Commentaries of St. Jerome on the prophet Jeremiah, of which he observes that no complete copy could be found anywhere in France; and with them Cicero's work *De Oratore*, and the Institutions of Quintilian, (of both which they possessed only some parts,) with the Commentary of Donatus on Terence. 'These works,' he adds, 'if your holiness will kindly transmit them to us, shall be copied with all possible celerity, and be faithfully returned.'"—Berington's *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, pp. 191, 192. Afterwards, however, and especially in the interval between the revival of letters and the invention of printing, manuscripts were multiplied, it would seem, more abundantly, and considerable libraries were collected in the great abbeys.

† For December, 1811. The article is understood to be from a zealous and active opponent of the Catholics, Dr. Southey. For other writers in vindication of the monks, see Fleury's *Four Discourses on Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 187–194; Lingard's *Antiquities of the Saxon Church*, Chap. X.; and Butler's *Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics*, Chap. XVI.

men, devoted to literature, and to the useful arts, as well as to religion, seems, in those ages, like a green oasis amid the desert. Like stars in a moonless night, they shine upon us with a tranquil ray. If ever there was a man, who could truly be called venerable, it is he to whom that appellation is constantly affixed,—Bede,—whose life was passed in instructing his own generation, and preparing records for posterity. In those days, the church offered the only asylum from the evils, to which every country was exposed; amidst continual wars the church enjoyed peace: it was regarded as a sacred realm by men, who, though they hated each other, believed and feared the same God. Abused as it was, by the worldly-minded and ambitious, and disgraced by the artifices of the designing, and the follies of the fanatic, it afforded a shelter to those, who were better than the world in their youth, or weary of it in their age; the wise, as well as the timid and gentle, fled to this Goshen of God, which enjoyed its own light and calm amid darkness and storms."

Long before the time from which the revival of letters is commonly dated, the necessity of a general reform in the religious houses had begun, as we have said, to be extensively felt, and had given rise to several new Congregations, or secondary orders. Early in the thirteenth century, and almost in the same year, Dominic, a Spaniard, and Francis, an Italian, instituted, under sanction of the Pope, the two orders of Friars, called after their respective founders, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans; to which were afterwards added two others, the Carmelites, and the Hermits of St. Augustine. That they might not be corrupted by ease and wealth, as the other monastic orders had been, it was enjoined that they should hold no property whatever either as individuals or corporations, that they should everywhere lead the life of mendicants, and occupy themselves incessantly in preaching to the people, and in the most laborious and least inviting functions of the sacred ministry. Father Leo, secretary and confessor of St. Francis, testifies of the latter, "that he had seen him, in prayer, sometimes raised above the ground so high, that this disciple could only touch his feet, which he held and watered with his tears; and that sometimes he saw him raised much higher." † His biographer tells us also, that there was a man in

* Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Vol. X. p. 74. Many of the Catholic

the duchy of Spoleto, "afflicted with a horrible running cancer," which the Saint kissed, and it was instantly healed;—a miracle, in regard to which every one, we suppose, will be ready to say with Bonaventure, "the Seraphic Doctor," who records it, "I know not which I ought most to admire, such a kiss, or such a cure." We also gather from the same authorities that St. Francis "scarcely allowed his body what was necessary to sustain life, and found out every day new ways of afflicting and mortifying it. If any part of his rough habit seemed too soft, he sewed it with packthread, and was wont to say to his brethren, that the Devil easily tempted those that wore soft garments. His bed was ordinarily the ground, or he slept sitting, and used for a bolster a piece of wood or a stone. Unless he was sick, he very rarely ate any thing that was dressed with fire, and when he did, he usually put ashes or water upon it: and often his nourishment was only a little coarse bread, on which he sometimes strewed ashes. He called his body, 'Brother Ass,' because it was to carry burdens, to be beaten, and to eat little and coarsely. When he saw any one idle, eating of other men's labors, he called him, 'Brother Fly,' because he did no good, but spoiled the good which others did, and was troublesome to them." However, it appears that the good-natured Saint quitted the world at last on an amicable footing with his "brother Ass"; for the narrative goes on: "As a man owes a discreet charity to his own body, the Saint, a few days before he died, asked pardon of his, for having treated it perhaps with too great rigor, excusing himself that he had done it, the better to secure and guard the purity of his soul, and for the greater service of God." *

Monkish legends must pass for what they are worth. We also make but small account of outward works of penance, even supposing them to be honestly done, and believe with Jortin, that enthusiast and knave often go lovingly together. Still it is not improbable that both Dominic and Francis were honest and pious in their main purpose, and conceived themselves to be doing an important service to the church and to society by establishing the mendicant orders. The Pope, it

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legends turn on this pretended bodily elevation of the devotees in ecstatic prayer; for which see particularly the accounts of St. Theresa.

* Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Vol. X. pp. 80, 81.

is certain, whose "standing army" they were called, and to whom they were made immediately subject, looked to them, in the beginning, as the great bulwark of orthodoxy and his own supremacy. Moreover, it is but justice to allow that men were nurtured among them of exemplary lives, and extraordinary learning and subtilty;—men who were the lights and guides of their age, and did as much, perhaps, as any others to wake up the world from its long slumbers. Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas were Dominicans; Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon, and William of Ockham were Franciscans:—philosophers, to mention no more, of whom Tennemann has said, not without reason, that "we ought (making due allowance for the circumstances of the times, and not appreciating what was effected then by what might be achieved now,) to allow all their merit to superior minds, without laying to their charge the faults of their age and their contemporaries." Their activity and success in the cause of education are amply attested. It was conducted by the Dominicans in the University of Paris as early as 1217; where they obtained the gift of a church, in the Rue St. Honoré, dedicated to St. James, and occupied it as a college, and from this circumstance were called Jacobite Friars; just as, many centuries afterwards, the Jacobins of the French revolution obtained their name from holding their meetings in the same building. "The monks of this order," says a late writer, "enjoyed great celebrity for a considerable period, and the number of novices they attracted was enormous; and to such an extent did they carry the system of buying students into their body, that the University, as well as the Franciscan monks, made a formal complaint on the subject to the Vatican."* We ought perhaps to add, that to Soto, a Spanish Dominican, and confessor of Charles the Fifth, belongs the signal honor of being, according to Sir James Mackintosh, the first writer who condemned the African slave-trade. "It is affirmed," said he, in a public lecture delivered at Salamanca, "that the unhappy Ethiopians are by fraud or force carried away and sold as slaves. If this is true, neither those who have taken them, nor those who purchased them, nor those who hold them in bondage, can ever have a quiet conscience till they emancipate them, even if no compensation

* Johnson's *View of Education in France*, p. 27.

should be obtained." On this passage Sir James justly remarks: "It is hard for any man of the present age to conceive the praise which is due to the excellent monks, who courageously asserted the rights of those whom they never saw, against the prejudices of their order, the supposed interest of their religion, the ambition of their government, the avarice and pride of their countrymen, and the prevalent opinions of their times." *

Nevertheless there is no denying, or concealing, or glossing over the notorious fact that the friars, as a body, soon fell into great disorders, which made it necessary again and again to revise and modify their constitutions; and still the irregular and wandering lives, which many of them led, put every thing like discipline out of the question. Under the name and garb of religious mendicants, they became real vagabonds,—extorsive, profligate, beastly,—and began, in no long time, to be looked upon everywhere as being, what indeed they really were, the pests of society. It was the conduct of the friars, more perhaps than any other one cause, which served to urge, past all endurance, the growing sense of ecclesiastical injury and wrong, and thus to hasten, and in some respects perhaps to precipitate, that general burst of popular indignation, which resulted in the Protestant Reformation. †

The Protestant Reformation! At the mention of that mighty movement we are reminded that its leader was a monk. Luther,—the master-spirit of his age, and who showed what that spirit was, when he said, that were he obliged to encounter at Worms as many devils as there were tiles upon the houses of that city, this would not deter him from his fixed purpose of appearing there, and again in the castle of Warteburg, when he flung his inkstand at, as he supposed, the Arch-Fiend himself,—the author, so far as any individual can be said to be the author, at least the powerful and indomitable agitator, of a

* *View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, pp. 50, 51.

† The Catholics themselves found it necessary after a while to take effective measures to abate the nuisance. "Experience," says Mr. Butler, in his *Confessions of Faith and Essays*, p. 185, "soon discovered that many spiritual and many temporal evils attended mendicity. In consequence of them, some of the Franciscan establishments, and almost all the establishments of the three other orders, began to acquire permanent property. This the Church first permitted and afterwards countenanced; and the council of Trent confined mendicity to the Observantines and Capuchins."

revolution which has done more for civil as well as religious liberty than all others put together,— whose lofty and proud note of defiance in the face of tyrants and of spiritual wickedness in high places, was indispensable from time to time to reassure less resolute minds,— was neither a military hero bred up in camps, nor a disappointed courtier stung into desperate efforts by slights or defeats, nor a smooth-spoken philosopher dreaming over his theories of the rights of man, but a Roman Catholic priest and an Augustinian monk.

One of the immediate consequences of the Reformation was the suppression and confiscation of English abbeys by Henry the Eighth. Long before this, it is true, and as early as the fourteenth century, the immoralities committed there had become matters of complaint and satire, as may be seen in the Tales of Chaucer, and also in the "Visions concerning Piers Plowman." In the latter a prophecy occurs, the fulfilment of which, more than a century and a half afterwards, is often mentioned among the remarkable coincidences of history.

"There shall come a king, and confesse you religious,
And beat you as the Bible telleth for breaking of your rule,
And amend monials,* monkes, and chanons,
And put hem to her penaunce, ad pristinum statum ire;—
And then shall the Abbot of Abington, and all his issue for ever,
Have a knocke of a kynge, and incurable the wounde."

In 1536, soon after Henry had made himself Head of the Church, a bill was introduced into Parliament, and hurried through, though not without some opposition, by which three hundred and seventy-six of the smaller monasteries, including all such as had an annual income not exceeding two hundred pounds, were dissolved, and the property belonging to them, both real and personal, was vested, with certain conditions and limitations, in the crown. Four years after, the same fate befell the larger monasteries; but in this case liberal pensions were settled on the monks and nuns for their support on being deprived of their livings and turned adrift into the world. The sums swept by these gigantic sequestrations into the royal treasury amounted, according to Lingard the Catholic historian, who gives the lowest computation, to the one and twentieth part

* Nuns.

of the whole rental of the kingdom; by others it has been estimated as high as the one fifth part.

Our limits forbid our going into details as to the facts, or entering into any thing like a full discussion of the grounds, of this proceeding.* Obviously, however, it was hardly to be expected, that institutions, which had engrossed so large a proportion of the wealth of the country, and were represented in Parliament by twenty-seven abbots, and two priors, sitting as members of the House of Lords, would be long allowed to hold undisputed possession either of their property or their political influence, after both were generally understood to be founded in fraud and imposture, and to minister to nothing but the grossest abuses and corruptions. Besides, after all proper deductions are made from the report of Henry's commissioners who were deputed to inquire into the condition of the monasteries, it is certain that in regard to most of them disclosures were made, which left the monks but little right to complain on their own account; especially when it is recollected, that it was often by treachery and collusion on the part of the incumbents themselves, that the surrender was made.† On the other hand, it will be conceded by every fair-minded Protestant, that some of the religious houses, pronounced by the commissioners themselves to be entirely free from reproach and

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* For full and authentic accounts of what was done, the reader may consult Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials* and Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, and compare Hume and Lingard.

† Now and then one was found not so easy to be either driven or coaxed from the premises; as, for example, Catherine Bulkeley, abbess of Godstow, who thus wrote to Cromwell, the king's Vicar-General: "Dr. London is soddenlye commyd unto me with a great rowte with him, and doth threten me and my sisters, saying that he hath the king's commission to suppress this house spyte of my tethe. When I shewyd him playne that I wolde never surrender to his hande, being an awncyent enemye, now he begins to intrete me, and invegle my sisters, one by one, otherwise then I ever herde tell that the king's subjects had been handelyd: and here taryeth and contynueth to my great coste and charges, and will not take my answere, that I will not surrender, till I know the king's gracious commandment, or your good lordship's." Of this Dr. London, a principal instrument in these proceedings, Fuller says, "He was no great saint; for afterwards he was publicly convicted of perjury, and adjudged to ride with his face to the horse-tail at Windsor and Ockingham." He also did penance at Oxford for gross incontinency. Lingard's *History of England*, Vol. VI. p. 342.

of immense public advantage, ought to have been spared; that the motives of the king throughout this whole transaction, whatever may have been the considerations which influenced some of his advisers, were to the last degree selfish and base; and, above all, that the vast sums realized by the sequestrations ought to have been bestowed, as it was originally pretended they should be, on some religious, or at least on some public object, instead of going, as they actually did, to pamper the vices of the royal miscreant, and transform the hungry minions who spanieled his heels into the founders of still flourishing, wealthy, and noble families. *

With the eighteenth century monastic institutions began rapidly to decline in popularity, along with the papal power,

* The loss occasioned by the destruction of the monastic libraries is also thus bewailed by old Bishop Bale, a professed hater of the monks themselves, in his Preface to Leylande's *New Yeares Gifte*. "Never had we bene offended for the loss of our Lybraryes, beynge so many in nombre, and in so desolate places for the most parte, yf the chiefe monumentes and most notable workes of our most excellent wryters, had bene reserved. If there had bene in every shyre of England but one solempne lybrarye to the preservacyon of those noble workes, and preferement of good lernynge in our posteritye, it had been sumwhat. But to destroye all without consideracyon is and will be to Englande for ever a most horryble infamy among the grave senyours of other nacyons. A great nombre of them whych purchased those superstycyous mansyons, reserved of those lybrary bookes, some to serve theyr jakes, some to scoure their candel-styckes, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they sold to the grossers and sopesellers, and some they sent over the see to the bookbynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shypes full, to the wonderynge of foren nacyons. Yea, the unyversytees of thys realme are not all clere in this detestable fact. But cursed is that bellye, whyche seketh to be fedde with suche ungodly gaynes, and so depelye shameth his natural countrey. I know a merchaunt man, whych shall at thys tyme be namelesse, that boughte the contentes of two noble lybraryes for xl shyllynges pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. Thys stuffe hath he occupied in the stede of graye paper, by the space of more than ten years, and yet he hath ynough for as many yeares to come. A prodygyouse example is this, and to be abhorred of all men which love their nation as they should do." It is hardly necessary to add, that the worthy prelate's honest indignation has probably led him to color and exaggerate the loss, and that, perhaps, the use to which the "merchaunt man" put his purchase was the best one, in any view of the matter, to which the principal portion of it could be turned. Convent libraries, if we may judge from the specimens which have come under our observation, could have done but precious little, had they been preserved, for the "preferement of good lernynge in our posteritye." They would indeed help to make, what is here called a "solempne lybrarye."

in most Catholic states, and were obliged to submit to many unwelcome regulations and restrictions. Even in literature the brilliant reputation obtained by Houbigant and others of the Oratory, by the orientalists of the Rue St. Honoré, and by the indefatigable scholars and antiquarians of St. Maur, had begun to be obscured by the great lights of modern learning in the universities and other literary and scientific associations. The scandals, also, which still continued to be reported of some of the congregations, was borne with less and less patience; and it was principally with a view to correct and restrain these, that Joseph the Second of Austria, as early as 1781, wholly abolished in his dominions the houses of some orders. Much more extensive reforms were likewise attempted about the same time in Tuscany, under the auspices of Leopold, the Grand Duke, and brother of the Emperor, by Scipio de' Ricci, a Roman Catholic bishop; who with a view to sanction and confirm the innovations proposed, called, in 1786, the celebrated Synod of Pistoia. This Synod, consisting of about two hundred and twenty ecclesiastics collected from different parts of Italy, declared in favor of the new discipline; but it was strenuously opposed in other quarters, and soon abandoned even by its authors and abettors as premature. The National Assembly of France was in a mood to do its work more thoroughly; and, accordingly, we find, that one of the early measures proposed in that body, and carried through by a triumphant majority, (the representatives of the clergy, to the number of three hundred, generally consenting,) was a decree for the total suppression of the abbeys and priories, and the confiscation of their property, which took effect in 1791. Mirabeau chose to forget, or to disregard on this occasion, what he had himself said, a little while before, to the Emperor Joseph: "Despise the monks, as much as you will, but do not rob them. Robbery is equally a crime, whether perpetrated on the most profligate atheist, or the most bigoted Capuchin." The clergy were told, "that the property belonging to a community was upon a different footing from that belonging to individuals, because the state might dissolve the community or body-corporate, and resume the property attached to it; and under this sophism they assumed for the benefit of the public the whole right of property belonging to the Church of France." The only grounds, on which any thing like a justification of this violent step could be made out, are, that the ecclesiastical reve-

nues had been in point of fact diverted from the purposes to which they were consecrated, and that the existence of so many rich and powerful ecclesiastical establishments in the country had became incompatible with the safety of the state. We may mention, in passing, that it is recorded to the honor of a Carthusian monk, Dom Gerle by name, that he was among the first to take alarm at the tendency of these proceedings, and had the courage to make a motion in the Assembly, which, if it had prevailed, might still, perhaps, have saved his church even after it had been thus pillaged: but it was too late.

Scanty pensions were assigned by the French government to about eighteen thousand monks and thirty thousand nuns, the number at which they are commonly computed; but this allowance was soon discontinued, and the whole were abandoned to their fate. Some perished in the atrocious butcheries which ensued; some fell in with and were carried away by the infidel and disorganizing tendencies of the times; and some fled to foreign countries, and particularly to England, for asylum, where they still kept up an observance of their conventual rules, without any relaxation of their severity. As for the monks they appear to have obtained but little general commiseration, and they deserved but little: with the nuns, however, it was different, as well on account of the fact, that their past lives had made them less liable to reproach or suspicion, as from pity for the greater helplessness of their present condition, and admiration of the heroic spirit with which they bore their reverses. "On one occasion," says Mr. Charles Butler, "the fatal cart conveyed the Superior of a convent, and all her claustral family, to the guillotine. In the road to it they sung in unison the litanies of the Virgin Mary. At first they were received with curses, ribaldry, and the other usual abominations of a French mob. But it was not long before their serene demeanor and pious chant subdued the surrounding brutality; and the multitude attended them in respectful silence to the place of execution. The cart moved slowly,—all the while the nuns continued the pious strain: when the cart reached the guillotine, each, till the instrument of death touched her, sustained it. As each died, the sound became proportionably weaker. At last the Superior's single note was heard,—and soon was heard no more.—For once the French mob

was affected. In silence, and apparently with some compunctious visitations, they returned to their homes."*

In 1803, the doom of secularization fell on many of the religious houses in Germany, and this policy was extended soon afterwards, under the auspices of Napoleon, to Italy and Poland. According to the writer of the article "Religious Orders" in the "Encyclopædia Americana," "no monasteries were to be found in Europe, except in Russia, (which tolerates the usages of all religions,) in Austria, Sardinia, Sicily, Ireland, Spain, and Portugal, when Pius the Seventh, in 1814, decreed the restoration of all the religious orders. In truth this proclamation affected only the States of the Church, where the Pope uses the religious orders to superintend public instruction, and charities to the poor, for which, with his shattered finances, he is himself unable to provide. The courts of Madrid, Turin, Modena, Lucca, and Naples, followed the example of the Pope, and have begun to reinstate in their ancient possessions, the religious who had been displaced by institutions of common utility. The latest *concordats* of the Pope with Naples, France, and Bavaria, contained stipulations in favor of the religious orders. In Bavaria where the monasteries were abolished, some have been restored. The period of religious orders, however, is past both in France and Germany; for in these countries the advancing spirit of the age renders all monastic institutions unnecessary; and such establishments, almost everywhere, want money and popular favor." From a careful comparison of the ecclesiastical statistics given by Malte-Brun, and other more recent authorities, we suspect that the writer in the Encyclopædia underrates the success of this new effort to revive the monastic spirit;—an effort which is extensively felt even in this country, where it is said, no fewer than twenty-seven convents have already been established.

The burning of the convent at Charlestown, last year, produced an excitement at the time, which we shall do nothing to revive: but the subject would seem to call for a remark or two in this connexion. We belong to a denomination which, so far as doctrine is concerned, differs more widely, perhaps, than any other, from the Catholics. We also agree with Milton, as regards practice; we "cannot praise a fugitive and

* *Historical Memoirs of the Church of France*, pp. 266, 267.

cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race where the immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat." Mr. Hume, it is true, himself no friend to monachism, and others, Protestants as well as Catholics, have thought, not without some show of reason, to make an exception in favor of nunneries ;* but the state of public opinion, and the changes which have taken place in society, make it necessary even that this should he given up. Still it was with extreme regret and mortification that we had occasion to record the outrage referred to above: not merely because it was an act of lawless violence, but because it partook, to a certain extent, of the nature of religious persecution; and this is not only abhorrent to our principles and feelings, but invariably has the effect, however it may seem to succeed for a time, (if it does not amount to instant and absolute extirpation,) ultimately to promote the very cause which it is called in to check or suppress. Notwithstanding all that has been said

* Commenting on the dissolution of the religious houses in England, the historian observes: "There appeared also a great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to great blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public; and none of them could want employment suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of family who failed of a settlement in the married state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank she properly filled; and a convent was a retreat, both honorable and agreeable, from the inutility and often want, which attended her situation."—Hume's *History of England*, Vol. IV. p. 156. Pope also in his *Eloisa to Abelard*, sings the blessedness of the "vestal's lot."

> "How happy is the blameless vestal's lot!
> The world forgetting, by the world forgot:
> Eternal sunshine of the spotless mind!
> Each prayer accepted, and each wish resigned;
> Labor and rest, that equal periods keep;
> Obedient slumbers that can wake and weep;
> Desires composed, affections ever even;
> Tears that delight, and sighs that waft to heaven.
> Grace shines around her with serenest beams,
> And whispering angels prompt her golden dreams.
> For her the unfading rose of Eden blooms,
> And wings of seraphs shed divine perfumes;
> For her the spouse prepares the bridal ring,
> For her white virgins hymeneals sing;
> To sounds of heavenly harps she dies away,
> And melts in visions of eternal day."

about a "foreign conspiracy against the liberties of the United States," it will yet be found, we suspect, that the reaction, occasioned by the spirit manifested in this country against the Catholics, will do more to establish Catholicism here, a thousand times over, than his Excellency Prince Metternich, or the St. Leopold Foundation.

On the other hand, the Catholics and their friends entirely mistake or misrepresent the movement, if they would make it to be irreconcilable with a love of religious liberty, even on the part of a large proportion of the rioters themselves. The biographer of St. Theresa, that pink and paragon of recluses, tells us, that "at Toledo a young woman, who had gained a reputation of virtue, petitioned to be admitted to the habit, but added: 'I will bring with me my Bible.' 'What!' said the saint, 'your Bible? Do not come to us. We are poor women, who know nothing but how to spin, and to do what we are bid.'"* From anecdotes like this a very unfavorable opinion has been formed by Protestants and by many Catholics of the slavish spirit pervading monastic institutions, which, in this particular instance, was aggravated by a growing and morbid jealousy in the community of all secret institutions, and by rumors, current and generally accredited though unfounded, of mysterious abominations practised at Mount Benedict under the cover of darkness, and of the actual constraint and duress in which one or more of the inmates were at that moment unrighteously and illegally held. Under these circumstances is it not conceivable that the mob, so far as religion, or deliberation of any kind, was at all concerned in the matter, believed themselves to be doing the work, not of inquisitors but deliverers? One lesson, however, we hope will be gathered from this untoward event,—a lesson of great importance in these times of *ultraism*, and of a disposition to suppress *ultraism* by violent measures. We hope it will come to be undersood, that they who exasperate and inflame the passions of the people on any subject, until it passes their power to restrain or regulate them, are responsible for the consequences before the bar of public opinion, and the bar of God. Ed.

* Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Vol. X. p. 366.

ART. IV. — *A Memoir of* JAMES JACKSON, JR., M. D. *With Extracts from his Letters to his Father; and Medical Cases, collected by him.* By JAMES JACKSON, M. D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in Harvard University; and Physician of the Massachusetts General Hospital. Boston. 1835. 8vo. pp. 444.

THIS book has not been published, but printed only for private distribution; and we should not have thought ourselves at liberty to make it the subject of an article without the permission of the author, which we have solicited and obtained. We were ourselves strongly affected by the reading of the Memoir,— though the writer of this article had not the pleasure of personally knowing the subject of it, — and we believed that we could hardly render a better service to the community than by contributing to make some of its characteristics more generally known. It is a beautiful, simple, true exhibition of moral worth, of correct sentiments and principles of action, of parental and filial confidence and friendship, of the generous ardor of a young man giving himself up without reserve to the duties which he regarded as assigned to him by Providence, and of the religious composure and self-command, with which a parent, fully sensible of the extent of his deprivation, can yet retrace the virtues of such a son, in the trust that he has only resigned them to the keeping of God. From much that appears around us, it affords relief and encouragement to turn to such examples of private and domestic virtue, to contemplate those rich veins of worth running below the surface, which, as in the present case, are occasionally laid open to view, and to recollect, that, whatever evils may exist in our community, it still produces such parents and such sons.

To young men, especially of the two professions, the medical and the clerical, in which the possession or the want of ability, extensive and correct knowledge, skill, and faithfulness, most affect the well-being of others, this Memoir affords an admirable lesson. No right-minded young man can read it without such sympathy, as will excite him to more strenuous exertions. Very glad should we be to believe, that those who have chosen the profession of clergymen were in general possessed with as strong a feeling, as the young physician whose loss our

society deplores, of the necessity of thorough, well-directed study, of intellectual preparation for their duties, and with an equal sense of the uncertainty and worthlessness of superficial information and merely traditionary opinions. There is great deficiency without doubt in both professions; and so far as a single example may tend to correct it, none can do so more effectually than that here presented.

A large proportion of the most religious books are not of the number of those which assume that name. On the contrary, of books called religious, very many are founded upon false conceptions of our nature, of the religious character, of our duties and trials, of the world actually existing around us, of life and death. We are presented with views so partial, distorted, and exaggerated, that the religious man of the author's imagination becomes a being at once impossible and displeasing, very unlike the good, who are to be found in the real intercourse of the world. The most religious books, whether they bear that name or not, are those which impress us most deeply with a feeling of our responsibilities in the common offices of life; of the unending nature of moral and intellectual improvement; of the instability of our present form of being, and the certainty of higher modes of existence; of the imperishable character of all true excellence; of the deep remembrances and intimate affections that connect us with the world to come, by ties as real as those which bind us to the present; of the efficacy of the principles and dispositions, founded on a belief of the moral nature of God, and the immortality of those we love, as well as our own, to give moral power, to animate and console; and of the worth of those sympathies, which unite us with the friends whom God has made near to us, with whatever can enjoy or suffer, and with Him who is the source, strength, and hope of all goodness and love. The influence of the Memoir before us we regard as truly religious.

But we ought rather to occupy the limits within which we are confined, by extracts from the Memoir itself, than by our own remarks. It begins thus;—

"The following pages contain a memoir of the life of my late son, James Jackson, Junior, M. D., with extracts from his letters, and a selection from the medical cases collected by him, principally in Paris. I have been induced to print these cases by the solicitation of those, who knew how he had collected them. I have been induced to write the memoir in consequence of the sug-

gestion of those who knew something of him, and whose opinions I respect. In some points the task has been grateful to me; sad, though it may seem, for a father. I thank God, that I have been able to maintain my cheerfulness, and to attend to the common occupations of life, since the deplorable loss which I suffered in his departure from this world. But every hour has he been in my mind. In every occupation, in almost every conversation, however little others could see the connexion, his image has been before me. It has been a beautiful image, and has not checked any pleasure, nor even any gayety, in which I thought he could have joined.

"Under any circumstances I might seem an improper person to give his history, and my statements may be deemed scarcely worthy of credit. Who will believe that I shall be impartial? I can say, however, that I would not willingly be guilty of exaggeration, if it were only from a respect to the love of truth, which formed the most distinguishing trait in his character. He loved me as few sons love their fathers. Of this I have had ample and constant proofs. But he loved truth better, and would not subscribe to any opinion because it was mine, though he was quite willing, in his conduct, to submit to my direction and control.

"But if I draw a fancy picture, while I design to paint the character of my son, if that presents a young man who devoted his time most assiduously to the acquisition of useful knowledge, who cultivated at the same time his best moral affections, and acted from the highest love of virtue, and who thereby secured the friendship of the wise and good, the fiction at least may have some good influence on the young and inexperienced. At least it may lead them to reflect on the immutable connexion between virtue and happiness.

"The subject of this story was not indeed rewarded by long life. But in this age will it be maintained that long life is the greatest of blessings? This is a topic on which I shall not enlarge; but I will only say for myself, which I do most sincerely, that I would not have added a year to my son's life by an habitual and allowed indulgence in a single vice.

"The history of my son's life is very simple, and it may be told very briefly. He was born on the 15th January, 1810, was graduated at the University in Cambridge in 1828, and then engaged in the study of medicine. This he did under my direction and as my pupil. He continued as such till the April of 1831, and during this time he attended the medical lectures of our University, and saw the practice of the Massachusetts General Hospital. In the spring, 1831, he went to Paris, where he arrived in May, and remained till July, 1833, except during a visit of six months to Great Britain and Ireland, in the spring and summer of 1832. He

reached home at the end of the summer, 1833, and was graduated as Doctor of Medicine in our University in February, 1834. He was now prepared to engage in practice, and took rooms for himself in Franklin-Place. He was thus brought to the starting-place of active life, and under circumstances the most flattering and the most grateful, when he was arrested in his course. Exactly at this point he was arrested. His arrangements being made, he sent an advertisement to the public papers, which appeared on the 5th of March, and on that day he was taken sick, so as to lodge at my house, instead of occupying the rooms which he had just announced as his residence. This sickness was his last, and he died on the 27th of the same month, being in his 25th year." — pp. 3 – 5.

After this general account, the author of the Memoir proceeds to enter into the details of the life of his son. As a boy he was lively, social, goodhumored and generous. "His schoolmaster loved him; but had to punish him continually for the sin of laughing, of which he could not break him however."

"Once, when a little boy, he had kept at the head of his class for two or three days, and then a younger boy got above him. I reproached him for permitting this. But he said, with great *naïveté*, that the other boy 'ought to be at the head sometimes.' I hardly gave him credit at the moment for this generous wish for the gratification of his rival, but his companions in later life will agree with me in believing, that it was the result of that interest in the happiness of others, which he manifested more and more strongly as long as he lived." — p. 7.

At College, the routine of studies did not fix his attention. "He never attained a distinguished rank in his class by exact attention to his collegiate duties;" yet, what is not inconsistent with the fact, he "was really storing his mind with valuable knowledge." Immediately upon leaving College, he entered with uncommon ardor upon his professional studies. We must pass over the particulars of his assiduity and success while he remained in this country. When just past twenty-one years of age, he went to complete his education at Paris. The Memoir furnishes us with an extract from a letter of his father written upon this occasion, and with his reply. It will be recollected that we are giving an account of a book not generally accessible, and we cannot better occupy our pages than by quoting both.

"*Extract from my Letter to him, April* 9, 1831.

"'I look forward with sanguine hopes of benefit from the opportunities you will have. I feel satisfied that you will not omit to avail yourself of them. It is this hope of benefit to you which reconciles me to your absence, for I have already begun to look to you as my most interesting companion for the remainder of my days. As to the hazards to which you are exposed, I certainly do not disregard them; yet I shall not allow a regard to them to make me unhappy. At least, I think so now. There is a risk of life, — and it would indeed alter the aspect of my future days, if I did not hope to have you by my side, and to leave you behind me in this world. But this is the smallest risk by far. Whether we pass a few short years together in this world is comparatively of little consequence. Whether we meet in a better world is of immeasurable importance. This depends on ourselves; — on the strict regard to morality which we both maintain; — a morality in Dr. Holyoke's sense, which includes piety, — a regard to our Maker, as well as to ourselves and fellow-men. Now I am not insensible to the temptations, to which young and old are exposed in Paris and London. I can think of them till I tremble. But my trembling is stilled by the confidence I place in you. This confidence is sincere and strong. It is not unlimited, but it is as great as it can be in any young man. I know that your fondness for society, arising from the best feelings, is very strong; but I feel assured that you know how to control it, — and that your principles are strong and of the best kind. I shall not therefore allow myself to be anxious; and it is more to tell you this, than to insinuate any cautions, that I have been led into this long statement of my views and feelings. In temptation, I think you will first think of home, — and then cast your eyes higher, to the home we all ultimately hope for, and to the Father who is better than any earthly parent. I referred to the dangers of society; — I wish to add, that among men of the world, and I may say such gentlemen as a traveller meets, there is a sort of presumption conveyed in conversation, that no one feels bound very strictly by the rules of morality. Now one need not turn knight-errant, nor missionary, to beat down the obnoxious principles thus indirectly maintained. But, on the other hand, I have never found any society, in which I needed to remain, in which a gentleman was bound to assent to such principles, or in which he might not declare his dissent from them, when he was compelled to speak of them directly. In short, a man never loses, but almost always gains with the worst men, by pursuing an honorable and virtuous course. The share of reputation, which you have yourself gained, while leading a quiet and, you may almost say, a secluded life, shows you that a man gains reputation fully in proportion to his merits. Some persons must

see your course, and by them, even while they do not think of doing so, it is published and fixes your character. Not that a regard to character is the highest motive to action, but I was led to speak of it in another view, viz. that a regard to it in the eyes of those about you, need not lead you to make sacrifices to their vices and follies.'

"The letter from which the foregoing extract is made, reached my son in New York, on his arrival there, after sailing upon the Hudson, and visiting the Trenton Falls. In his reply, of which the greater part follows, he refers to the scenes, in which his mind had been delightfully engaged.

"'*New York, April* 15, 1831.

"'My Dear Father,

"'My heart beats, and my eyes fill, and my hopes are brightened, and my resolutions are strengthened, as I advance in reading your kind letter of affection and advice. Be assured I will not neglect the opportunities which I am about to enjoy. My constant prayer is to God, that he will give me strength, moral and mental, to improve them to the utmost. I have already, some time since, said to you, that, were it not that I may with every reason expect to be in your society and under your guidance again on my return, I would on no account visit Europe. I feel and know that my opportunities for improvement during any two years, which I shall be absent, would be much greater at home than any I can obtain abroad; — but both have their peculiar advantages, and, trusting in the mercy and providence of God, who has already poured upon me so many blessings, I feel a confident hope that I may enjoy both without foregoing either.

"'You next speak, my dear father, of the temptations abroad to young men. I, too, can and do think, and have oftentimes thought of them, till I tremble. I feel myself to be weak, weaker than I should be. I am not phlegmatic; — I have not yet learned to be master of myself; — I am yet, too often, much too often, the slave of circumstances. I feel that this is to be the toil and study of my life, to become master of myself. I am learning each day, more and more, that it is the education of the immortal part, which should and must demand man's most serious and untiring attention. I begin to feel too, that it is his highest happiness to cultivate it. I see the difficulties with which I must contend, and I feel deeply conscious of my moral weakness; — but again, I feel a sort of confidence in remembering that the Creator has given to man strength to resist all moral evil, and in hoping and praying that he will enable me to exert it. The future, with all, especially with a young man, is uncertain; — but for all that is important it is in our hands; — an awful responsibility, indeed, but yet ennobling

and encouraging. One thought is most cheering, — we may depend upon it with security, — in the right conduct of the future, we have the certain aid and assistance of our all-powerful and benevolent Father, who will point us to the right path and safely conduct us over it, however rugged, if we will but open our eyes to see, and our hearts to accept, instead of blindly refusing his kind offers. My dear father, this is no affectation; — it is no unmeaning rhapsody; — my mind for some time has been becoming more and more convinced of the *essential importance* of these subjects, and I promise you the last week has not been spent in vain; — not only has my mind been improving; — my heart too is better for what I have seen; — it is good for me to have been the spectator of these majestic works of the Deity in the natural world around us. My heart has been warmed with a sense of his benevolence, and my mind opened anew and more strongly, to a conviction of his power and greatness.

"'In anticipating my future career in life, my mind is filled with what? I can tell you, for I have spent much time during the last three months, in a serious consideration of the subject, and feel that I have arrived at somewhat more definite views than I had previously entertained. I would divide all the objects of my aim and efforts into two classes, — the essentials and the desirables; — and in a few words they are these. Among the first, are a moral character, in the fullest acceptation of the term; or in other words a life of virtue, so spent as shall be acceptable to God, and render me fit to enjoy the blessings of the virtuous; an honorable and useful exercise of my profession; — these two will perhaps include the only remaining essential, viz. such a situation in society, as to p.operty, respectability, and so forth, as every young man brought up, as I have been, feels it his duty to expect and provide for.

"'Among the second, I would reckon the pleasures of social life, a handsome and independent property, and a high professional reputation. The time has been, and that not very long since, when I looked upon this last as the most important of all. But I am now wiser. I have not ceased to value this abstractedly as much as before; but its relative place among the objects of my desire is changed, — I trust irrevocably changed.

"'One word more on this subject and I have done. You say it is rather to express your confidence in my principles, than to insinuate any cautions, that you have written me so fully on this subject. Trust not too much in my principles. At this moment they are as firm and as virtuous as I could wish; but I have told you that I am weak, and have yet to learn the severe lesson of self-denial. For your own comfort and happiness believe me strong if you will; but for my good, believe me weak. It is my

sincere wish and desire, I may almost say command, (for in such matters the child may command the parent,) that you will often remind me in your letters of the temptations to which I am exposed, and the incentives to avoid them. Do not think that I am writing words which mean nothing. It had been my attention for some weeks past to write to you, before I left the country, on this very subject; to request your direct and constant aid in the preservation and improvement of my moral character. I hope that you will read and understand this request literally; as much so as any I ever made for a book to improve my mind, or a dollar to clothe my body. One duty yet remains, — a cheerful and a pleasant one and yet one which I can perform but too inadequately; — it is to express my gratitude to you; to express to you all that I feel would be impossible; — perhaps also it would be unnecessary, as you must know it already. It might have been expressed more fully, and most becomingly in the actions of my past life; but it has not been. No mode is now left me, but by words and my future conduct. No words that I can use, can ever exhibit to you my real feelings; and for my future conduct I fear, yet hope. The duties of a parent to his child, which your approving conscience must tell you in more audible tones than I can utter, have been by you most strictly exercised, call for a correspondent gratitude from the child, none the less because they are the *duties* of his parent. But in my case, there is something more than this. Though I love to dwell upon the relation, which exists between us, and the circumstances, and scenes, and events, which have arisen from that relation; yet I have sometimes taken another view of the subject. I have considered the relation of parent and child as adventitious or accidental; — I have looked upon you and myself as two beings whom God has placed upon this earth, and whom accident had brought together; I have then thought of how much I was indebted to you for all the principles, and knowledge, and powers that I possess; — but, my dear father, I will stop. You see what is in my mind, — I have been writing you, till I am getting too much excited; — but it is a holy excitement and will do me good. My prayer is to God, that we may meet again in this world, but I know it is uncertain; my prayer and efforts too are and shall be, that my life may be so spent as to meet you in another world, if not in this, which may God in his infinite mercy grant.' " — pp. 11 – 17.

These letters require no comment. They speak directly to the heart of every parent and child.

The subject of this Memoir was excited to greater ardor, if that were possible, in his professional studies by the new means of improvement afforded him at Paris, and the new views of

the science of medicine which opened upon him. He particularly attached himself to the instructions of M. Andral and M. Louis. By both he was treated with great attention and kindness; and between M. Louis and himself there "grew up a friendship of no common kind;" as is evidenced by the letters of M. Louis as well as his own, published in this volume.

That gentleman has gained a distinguished name by his new method of observing the phenomena and studying the causes of disease; and as Dr. Jackson jr. entered with zeal into his views, and promised to be among his most eminent disciples, we quote the following passages from an account of this new method given in a note to the Memoir.

"M. Louis has not brought forward a new system of medicine; he has only proposed and pursued a *new method* in prosecuting the study of medicine. This is nothing else than the method of induction, the method of Bacon, so much vaunted and yet so little regarded. But, if so, where is the novelty? If any one, after patiently studying and practising the method proposed by M. Louis, denies the novelty of it, I will not dispute with him a moment. Perhaps he will then agree with me, that it is a novelty to pursue the method of Bacon thoroughly and truly in the study of medicine; though it is not new to talk of it and to laud it.

"A little history of one part of M. Louis's life will throw some light on this subject. This gentleman went abroad, and I believe had some appointment in Russia, after he had gone through the usual course of professional education. Returning to France at the age of thirty-two, he was about to engage in private practice. He was then led to examine anew the state of the science of medicine, and was dissatisfied with it. He now decided to abandon the thoughts of practice for a time, and to devote himself to observation; that is, to the study of disease as it actually presents itself. With this view he went into the hospital la Charité in Paris, and followed the practice of M. Chomel, now a physician at the Hotel Dieu and Professor of Clinical Medicine, and highly esteemed as an author. M. Louis passed nearly seven years in studying medicine in this way. The first part of this time he was learning how to make observations. When he thought he had attained this art, he threw away, as I have understood, the notes he had already collected, and began anew to accumulate exact observations of the phenomena presented by the sick, and of those derived from an examination after death in the fatal cases. In this course of observations he did not make a selection of cases, but took them as they were presented, indiscriminately. He was not in a hurry to

make deductions from his cases, satisfied that he was gathering the materials, from which truth would ultimately be elicited. He was only careful that his observations should be correct, and had not any general principles or doctrines, for which he sought support or confirmation.

"To estimate the value of his observations, it is necessary to understand the plan on which he collected them. First, then, he ascertained when the patient under his examination began to be diseased. Not satisfied with vague answers, he went back to the period, when the patient enjoyed his usual health; and he also endeavoured to learn, whether that usual health had been firm, or in any respect infirm. He noted also the age, occupation, residence, and manner of living of the patient; likewise any accidents which occurred, and which might have influenced the disease then affecting him. He ascertained also, as much as possible, the diseases which had occurred in the family of his patient. Secondly, he inquired into the present disease, ascertaining not only what symptoms had marked its commencement, but those which had been subsequently developed, and the order of their occurrence; and recording those which might not seem to be connected with the principal disease, as well as those which were so connected; also, measuring the degree or violence of each symptom, with as much accuracy as the case would admit. Thirdly, he noted the actual phenomena present at his examination, depending for this not only on the statement of the patient, but on his own senses, his eyes, his ears, and his hands. Under this and the preceding head, he was not satisfied with noting the functions in which the patient complained of disorder, but examined carefully as to all the functions, recording their state as being healthy or otherwise, and even noticing the absence of symptoms, which might bear on the diagnosis. Thus all secondary diseases, and those which accidentally coexisted with the principal malady, were brought under his view. Fourthly, he continued to watch his patient from day to day, carefully recording all the changes which occurred in him, till his restoration to health or his decease. Fifthly, in the fatal cases he exercised the same scrupulous care in examining the dead, as he had in regard to the living subject. Prepared by a minute acquaintance with anatomy, and familiar with the changes wrought by disease, he looked not only at the parts where the principal disorder was manifested, but at all the organs. His notes did not state opinions, but facts. He recorded, in regard to each part which was not quite healthy in its appearance, the changes in color, consistence, firmness, thickness, &c.; not contenting himself with saying, that a part was inflamed, or was cancerous, or with the use of any general but indefinite terms."

* * * * *

"It was only when he had accumulated a great mass of cases, that M. Louis began to deduce from them any general principles. He then arranged the facts he had collected in a tabular form, so as to faciltate a comparison of them. How much labor this required will be in some measure conceived, when I state that, while going through one class of his observations, those, I believe, which relate to acute diseases, he retired to a distance from Paris, and occupied ten months in making out his tables. This statement is, I believe, substantially if not precisely correct.

"Let the reader conceive of these tables, drawn out with accuracy, having columns devoted, with proper discrimination, to each function and to its various derangements, as manifested during life, and to each organ and its lesions, as ascertained after death; let him then go to these tables and inquire, under what circumstances certain signs of disease arise, and with what pathological changes in the dead body they are found to correspond; let him ask, under what circumstances certain morbid changes of structure occur, and with what symptoms they are found to be connected; he may find the answers, and he may obtain them numerically." — pp. 59–63.

These general statements are further illustrated in the note; and examples are given of the facts that have been established by this more accurate and philosophical mode of observation. It seemed proper to give some account of it, as Dr. Jackson, jr., without doubt, did much, in the circle in this country with which he was immediately connected, to direct the attention of other physicians to the subject. M. Louis wrote to his father, urging that he should be allowed to devote some years after his return to Boston merely to "medical observation." His letter is given, together with the answer of Dr. Jackson, sen'r., assigning his reasons for not assenting to the proposal.

While the subject of this Memoir was residing at Paris, the irruption of the cholera into that city afforded a new opportunity for the exhibition for his moral and intellectual character. The heroism, sometimes demanded of the medical profession, that leads one calmly to expose himself to death, under the action of no false stimulants, to save, not destroy, the lives of others, is of a far higher character than that ordinarily displayed on the field of battle.

"The period of the epidemic cholera in Paris was one of the greatest interest and of the greatest anxiety to the subject of this

memoir. Until the end of the winter 1831–2, the accounts which we had received in this country of the cholera in Europe, were of the most alarming character. We knew that, arising many years previously in the hot climates of Asia, this deadly malady had passed in a north-west direction into the coldest regions of Europe, aud was thence extending itself over that quarter of the globe. Why it thus spread, and whether it was propagated by contagion, many persons were ready to decide upon general principles; but precise facts, on which to form a decision, were not yet furnished. One thing was certain, that it affected great numbers wherever it went, and proved fatal to a large proportion of those affected. Regarding my son as comparatively without friends in a foreign country, not then knowing the kind feelings already entertained for him by those most capable of taking care of him, I wrote to him urgently, to fly before this plague, and even to leave Europe, should the disease invade at once France and Great Britain. Such letters, and such only, had he received on this subject, when the disease appeared in Paris, in the last days of March. It had already been introduced into England, but had there been comparatively limited in its extension. In Paris, it extended at once to very large numbers, and assumed within one week the most terrific aspect; such as to excite within that short period the most outrageous mobs, under a belief that the poorer classes had been designedly poisoned. On the sudden outbreak of this most alarming disease, my son's mind was exercised in the most distressing manner. The following extract from his letter of April 8th, which will be given in full among his letters, will describe his feelings, and give the result to which he was brought in this dilemma.

"'I almost weep to write you again from Paris. It is now the first moment of my life, that I have heen placed between two duties, each strong, each binding, and where my difficulty is to decide which is the most so. But I have decided, — as I know, against your wishes. God grant that circumstances may be such that you shall accord with me, when the time is passed. A medical man has his duties; — I am a boy in medicine; — granted. But I am like the other Americans here about me. An opportunity is offered us of studying a disease, which will probably visit our hitherto untouched country. Were the disease about you, would you fly? You could not, for the public would look to you. You would not, for your sense of duty would prevent you. I am, in a measure, in the same condition.'

"The moment was a fearful one, most assuredly. The mortality in Paris rose to eight hundred a day, within three weeks from the first appearance of the disease. It was in the Hôtel Dieu my son first saw the victims of it in any number, and the emphatic words in which he described it were nearly the same, as were often used

by others. 'The disease is death;' he said, 'truly, at Hôtel Dieu, where I have seen fifty and more in a ward, it is almost like walking through an autopsy room; in many, nothing but the act of respiration shows that life still exists. It is truly awful.'" — pp. 24–26.

While he remained in Paris during the prevalence of this frightful disease, he gave up his whole time to its study. Retiring to England about the last of April, he there digested his observations upon sixty of the cases which he had examined, of which thirty were favorable and thirty fatal in their termination. The manuscript was forwarded to his father and published in this country. "I am willing to refer to the book," says his father, "in support of the praise which I have ventured to give to my own son." We refrain from quoting the further apparently very impartial remarks which are made concerning it.

He remained for some time in England, and then having returned to Paris, quitted it finally in July, 1833. On the 23d of August he again landed on his native shores; — to give momentary pleasure to a large circle of friends; to afford them evidence that his character was what it had appeared to be; and to die. He was attacked by our autumnal fever in a very severe form just two months after his arrival. At the end of three months he seemed to have regained his health. But in February he had some recurrence of a diarrhœa which had afflicted him in France. The disease, which was at first regarded as of little importance, assumed the character of a severe dysentery; and the event should be told only in the words of his father.

"Under this disease he suffered much and struggled hard, retaining his firmness of mind, and fully aware of the uncertainty of its issue. He was severely sick about three weeks, but after the first fortnight, I regarded him as safe. The dysenteric affection was clearly subsiding, and he recovered some appetite, though still very weak. Suddenly a change occurred, of which the cause was latent; the prostration was extreme; his mind gave way, and in less than two days and a half he ceased to breathe. In his last hours, his mind, amidst many wandering thoughts, appeared to get momentary glimpses of his real situation. He did not seem to shrink from the view, but was unable to keep it before him from failure in his physical strength. In one of these moments he said very distinctly and solemnly, 'God, pardon me.' That he had sins which

called for this petition at all times, there is no doubt. That he was deeply sensible of his own frailties and imperfections I well knew, for no son was ever more frank than he was in communications to a father. That the prayer from a heart like his, not now uttered for the first time, was freely granted, it was impossible for me to doubt. His own humble penitence was highly proper. But for me, there was no fear that he would find any thing but bliss in the new state of existence, into which my mind seemed almost capable of following him; almost, of seeing his admission. It was for my own loss, for that of my household, I had to grieve. And that grief, sincere as it was, found solace from the first in the delightful recollections his life had left on my mind. These recollections have constantly hung about it, and how gratefnl they have been may be seen by what I have transcribed in the preceding pages." —pp. 42, 43.

The remaining pages of the Memoir are principally occupied by a general view of the character of its subject, admirable for its calmness of style and evident freedom from exaggeration. The whole Memoir indeed is distinguished by that simplicity and truth of thought and expression, which are the only foundation of all that produces a permanent effect in writing. It concludes thus.

"With such characteristics as I have attributed to my son, he seemed calculated to be highly useful in the world. I never anticipated that he would have a commanding influence in society, but I did think that he would have an agreeable and useful influence. Why he should have been permitted to go so far, to give blossoms of so fair a promise and of so sweet a flavor, and just then be cut down, is not for us to say. It is one of those events, which show us that we know very little of the designs of our own being, at least while we regard this world only. I do not consider it as singular, because to me it was so afflictive; because I was disappointed of the most cherished hopes, just when I was almost ready to think my life well spent in having learned how to educate one, who could be much more useful than I had ever been. I need not look far from home to find those, who suffered in like manner, almost at the same moment. The instance is not singular; and because it is not, we must infer that the end of our existence is not merely to be useful in this world; and we must be comforted by the assurance that a good life, however short, is the great blessing which alone should satisfy all our desires, as respects our children. Almost unnatural, it may seem, at least against the ordinary course of nature, for a father thus to erect a monument for his son. But surely he should be solaced, if the life of his son has furnished at

once the solid materials for its erection, and flowers for its ornament." — pp. 53, 54.

We should be doing injustice to our readers if we were to attempt to deepen the impression, which the extracts we have given are of a character to produce. But we may state one train of sentiment which the reading of this Memoir has awakened in our minds. It is strikingly adapted to strengthen the feeling, which is a different thing from the conviction, of the reality of death; and to divest it at the same time of all those false terrors that commonly accompany it. In the natural course of things, as we advance in life, unless the discipline of God has been lost upon us, our connexions with this world are weakening, and those with the future growing more numerous and intimate. Objects of our dearest love, who were an essential part of all our hopes and cares, have been removed to a better state of being, while we are left behind. We have seen the vigor of early manhood and the beauty of female loveliness disappear from among us, and felt deeply what a void was produced by their passing away. The aspect of life has changed; we have ourselves died in part; and we cannot avoid recollecting, that soon, God only knows how soon, we too shall go,

> "Even where weak infancy, and timorous age,
> And maiden fearfulness, have gone before us."

Could our individual lives be prolonged in the enjoyment of health and strength, with what indifference, in the second century of this mode of being, should we regard all its ordinary concerns and pleasures? What heart-worn, desolate beings should we become? All around us has the stamp of change and mortality upon it. It is this, if we may be allowed again to borrow the language of poetry, which

> "gives to the flute-notes an undertone,
> To the rose a coloring not its own."

But we have no just conceptions of death, when we regard it as the termination of all present things, and see nothing beyond but some indistinct and half-terrific vision of great enjoyment or great suffering, the one or the other not being conceived of, as the natural result of the laws of God's moral government, such as we see them operating in this world, but viewed as the effect of some immediate act of his will. It is only when we carry forward, in imagination, into the future

life, the affections, the permanent interests, the pursuits worthy of an immortal being, the high hopes and desires of the present, that we have just notions either of that state or of the transition to it. A question has been raised, whether we shall there recognise our friends. What should we be if we did not; — social as we are in all our virtues; having scarcely a feeling, even a blamable feeling, which regards *only* ourselves; members of each other; with all our recollections and interests, our very individuality, as it were, blended with the being of others? What consciousness should we have ourselves, deprived of the memory of those we have loved? Or what could we enjoy, if, retaining their memory, we were separated from them for ever?

The change produced by the transition to the future life, we may reasonably believe, will be far less than the change which in middle life we have gone through since the period of our earlier remembrances. It must, it is true, be more sudden, like the voyage which carries us from our native country to some distant climate, whose wonders and beauties we had only read of and imagined. But when we too arrive in that future world, we shall probably look back, in company with the friends who will rejoin us, upon the cares, the interests, and the mistakes of the present, somewhat as we now look back upon those of our childhood; and almost wonder to find that we, with all our consciousness and all our gratified affections, are at last in the midst of scenes so strange and so delightful.

A. N.

ART. V. — *An Address delivered before the Ministerial Conference in Berry Street, May* 27, 1835.

THE subject assigned to the present Address is, "The best means of bringing our Lay brethren to be more useful in the maintenance of Religious Institutions." The subject, thus stated, implies, that greater action on the part of the laity, than now exists, is desirable. This may possibly be questioned by some, as there are those who appear to think religious institutions the exclusive charge of the clergy, and any interference on the part of other men, to be deprecated. It may not be amiss, therefore, to begin with one word in defence of the

position here assumed; and only a word can be necessary; for the truth, I suppose, is simply this; — Religious institutions must be sustained by laymen, or they cannot exist. The clergy have no power to uphold them, except so far as the people coöperate. In other places, in other days, the clergy had authority, property, power, could support themselves, and could compel the aid of others. It is not so now and amongst us. Christian institutions are now altogether at the mercy of the laity. If the people choose to sustain them, they live; and with just that degree of prosperity, which the people may allow to them. Otherwise, they perish; and the clergy, so far from being able to rescue them from destruction, are exposed with them to starvation and ruin.

There can therefore be no doubt, that it is not barely desirable, but absolutely essential, that our lay brethren take an active and prominent part in the concerns of our religious institutions. We may be jealous of an undue interference; but better to run the risk of this, from their too great interest, than expose ourselves to the deadly calamity, which would follow upon their indifference and neglect. We must seek for our institutions their fostering and patronizing care; not, like that of the powers and principalities of the old world, to overload and enslave them, but to nourish them to a healthful growth, and enable them to meet the emergencies of the times. The question before us is, by what means they may be excited to do this more effectually, than it is now done.

I do not know that this implies a complaint of any unusual remissness at the present time. Such a complaint would not be just. For no one can cast back a thought over the last fifteen years, and not perceive a decided augmentation of active interest on the part of private Christians. But this very increase of action, and the beneficial effects which have flowed from it, serve to instruct us concerning the value of that action, and to hint to us, what we should not otherwise have perceived, how much more yet it must be in their power to accomplish. We have learned how the power of the ministry is augmented, when there is enlisted, in coöperation with it, the power of ardent and devoted minds in other walks of life; and we thence learn to anticipate the most beneficial results from their more general and extensive action. The question is, how shall they be excited to this action? how shall they be brought to do all which they may do, for the prosperity and advancement of our institutions?

Before offering the direct reply to this question, there is the previous inquiry, What is it, specifically, which they are able to do, and in which it is desirable that they should be engaged?

Here I remark, first, that their office is distinct from that of the ministry; — any attempt to introduce them to the peculiar functions of the ministry, would tend to the overthrow rather than the strengthening of the institutions, which, by the constitution of Christianity and the usages of the Church, are committed to a separate order of men.

I remark, again, that there are yet some offices of teaching and spiritual counsel, in which they may appropriately occupy themselves, without at all encroaching on the exclusive province of the Pastor. Such, for example, are the direction and instruction of the Sunday School, — which may be thus made a nursery of incalculable strength for the cause of religion; such, also, are occasional meetings for mutual conference and united devotion, — where private Christians may speak to each other of the things that pertain to their peace, and successfully provoke one another to love and good works. These and similar operations are to be earnestly encouraged, as among the promising means of creating and cherishing that state of mind which will find its gratification in supporting the institutions of the Gospel.

Again, what further falls to their part is a generous readiness to contribute the requisite funds for the support of the Gospel in their own society, — for its support in less favored parts of the land, — and for all and any well considered and feasible projects of philanthropic effort. None of these projects can be executed excepting through their means; and the degree of success attending them will be wholly in proportion to their religious charitableness of mind.

In these particulars their coöperation is not only desirable; it is imperatively necessary; we see ruin and decay impending over our churches, and the shadows of infidelity and heathenism stealing over our land, unless the people rise up to these works with spirit and power. In some points of view, the situation and prospects of religion in this land, are appalling. The broken condition of our towns and parishes in New England, and the tremendous growth of the Western world, threatening to outstrip the tardy pace of all efforts to supply it with instruction, are circumstances of fearful interest,

which give an overwhelming importance to the present discussion. What are our friends doing, what can they, ought they, do, to keep up the weakened altars of our neighbourhood, and to help in furnishing teachers to the unsupplied distance? There are no inquiries of more pressing interest than these. Several societies have been so broken by the calamitous divisions of the times, as to have arrived already at the deplorable necessity of suspending the worship of God and the ordinances of the Gospel during some part of the year. This is no better, in its consequences, than the beginning of a total suspension, a deadly indifference, and a final heathenism. Ought this to be suffered? Are the churches to look calmly on and see this ruin begin, and not make an effort to stay it? Is nobody to raise a voice and tell of the evil? Is nobody to lift a finger and point to it? Will none rise up to apply a remedy? And are all coming generations, in numerous villages, to be left to infidelity and paganism, merely because the infelicity of the times has made them too poor to obtain a minister? How can they believe if they do not hear? How can they hear without a preacher? and, situated as they are, how can one preach to them except he be *sent*? *We must* SEND *preachers to those places.* Our prosperous churches, our wealthy societies, our abounding and generous laymen, must feel, more than they ever have done, that the preaching the Gospel and the institutions of Religion are to be regarded, not only as they concern themselves,—but as great and general interests, in which they are concerned wherever they exist; that the question is no longer, Whether they support the Gospel in their own village;—it is, Whether they support it *in their country.* For we may depend upon it, it can be supported in this country only by overlooking the limits of parishes and societies, and contributing freely to the religious want wherever it exists. Some have long ago seen this partially, and have exhibited practical illustrations of the good which may be done by this mode of viewing the subject. It is well known that there are several congregations, happily rejoicing in the light of life, which would years ago have been living without Christian instruction, had it not been that the Evangelical Missionary Society ministered to their aid. And what are the means of this Missionary Society? Its funds allow them to distribute nearly a thousand dollars a year. This is the fountain from which nurture is to be spread over the waste places of this wide land;

— even this, scanty pittance as it is, has been the cause that we do not mourn over many altars overthrown and flocks scattered. That Society could well expend five thousand dollars a year in this way. It ought to have them to spend. It ought not to be permitted to spend less.

Here then is a field of duty, to which our lay brethren must be earnestly called. If our portion of the great Christian Community, is to do its share toward sustaining and extending Christianity in this exposed and growing land, our lay brethren must furnish to those who are struggling for existence, that, without which their continued existence is impossible. I am aware that this will be objected to as a new and heavy demand, which cannot be borne amongst the multiplying charges of the times. But in the view of those, who perceive the serious responsibility under which the times place them, it will not be accounted grievous. I have faith to believe, that if the earnest call of the united ministry were heard, — that if we, brethren, would assume the responsibility of ardently, urgently, solemnly, using our rightful influence, to press this matter upon their consciences, there is a spirit in our congregations to second it with acclamation. When I call to mind what they have done for our Theological School, what they have done for the American Unitarian Association, what for the Seamen's Chapel, — objects purely religious, besides their large and frequent secular charities; when I recollect the sacrifices which have been made in Baltimore and many other places; the institution of the "ministry at large" in Boston, and the entire support of a similar ministry by one congregation in New York; when I remember these and other similar facts, I feel assured that our brethren only need to have the real necessity of the case truly laid before them, to induce them to do whatever may be necessary on their part to prevent the inroads of irreligion, through the inability of our feebler congregations to support the worship of God. New England never can be without Gospel institutions in her poorest villages, if the more favored portions of her children are kept acquainted with their wants.

I have alluded also to the vast regions beyond New England. A great work is to be done there. It will demand the zeal and fidelity of all the denominations of Christians in the older portions of the country to make it certain that that important world in the Western valleys shall be furnished with

adequate means of Christian instruction. Our denomination has its share of that work to perform. We may not dare to withhold ourselves from it. A portion of our means, as many as can be spared of our ministers, must be sent out to help in blessing and training that glorious young giant. Now is the time. Something has already been done. May God bless the beginning, and carry it to its completion! — till, in all the advancing villages of that prosperous domain, the seed of life shall be planted, to grow as they grow, and expand as they extend, and shelter the future millions beneath its capacious shade. Now is the time; — and may the Lord of the harvest send forth laborers unto his harvest.

There can be no doubt, then, as to the magnitude of the interests in which our lay brethren should be engaged; and we return to the inquiry, By what means shall they be brought to greater activity in them?

One of the first things necessary, is a more general and hearty union. I do not mean a *formal* union; — perhaps that would be well; — but the machinery of external organization might be perfect, and yet little approach be made toward the accomplishment of the results proposed; it is not any *form*, but a *spirit* of coöperation, which is needful; and so long as we, as a body, shall hold jealously our principle of personal independence, so long as we shall be marked by our infinite dislike of even the semblance of control, — so long it will be impossible to hope any thing from a universal and efficient combination. The associations already existing amongst us have always been impeded by this ever-operating check, and so salutary, in the main, is this extreme spirit of liberty thought to be, that no advantage to be derived from the restraints of organized action, could be thought to compensate for the apprehension of fettered consciences and compulsory beneficence.

But there may exist, — there ought to exist, — a *spirit* of hearty union, and a wide, willing, cordial coöperation; — springing from a zealous interest in the same great objects, an ardent desire for the success of the same great designs. Just in proportion as this mutual interest, this care for each other, this desire to help each other, this willingness to work together, — shall exist, just in the same proportion will our lay brethren be made efficient agents for the maintenance of religious institutions.

In order to this, the social principle must be made active. Let various meetings be encouraged within the limits of our religious societies, at which the brethren may speak to each other on these important subjects, may collect information, gain warmth to each other's hearts, and incitement to inquiry and exertion. Any one who has had the privilege of witnessing the effect of such gatherings on the religious character of a people, — especially the life which has been kindled by them (not vegetative, but fruit-bearing life,) in the younger portions of a congregation, — will be satisfied that this is a suggestion of no equivocal importance; that this is a measure on which no small portion of our hopes must rest.

In connexion with this may be suggested the circulation of books among our people, especially of religious periodical works. The press is a great instrument of information and excitement. In all departments of knowledge and worldly enterprise, it keeps alive and extends interest and zeal, by keeping the attention fixed on the discussions which are going forward and the works which are being performed. Our religious periodicals, — whatever objections may be raised against their tendency to secularize religion and turn theology into politics, — yet incontestably accomplish great good in the manner just mentioned, — they spread information on all topics of religious inquiry and action, and keep alive a constant interest in them. The good which they thus do, would be far greater, if they had a more general circulation, — if they were more universally read. The greatest amount of steadfast interest and action may be expected, when our friends shall have the same craving to see regularly some religious journal, that the merchant has to see his commercial journal; — shall be as discontented without the stated supply of religious intelligence and religious discussion, as the politician would be if left uninformed concerning the movements of the political world and the affairs of state.

To this point it seems desirable that greater attention be given. Far more may be done and ought to be done, than is now done. In one hundred and seventy congregations it would not be unreasonable to demand that there should be five thousand subscribers to some one of the more important or popular of our religious journals; yet no one of them has more than nineteen hundred subscribers; and the circulation of the most important of them has been much more limited

than this. Now when it is considered how much valuable matter these works contain, how much time and thought and care their publication calls for, how their usefulness depends on the extent of their circulation, and how easy it would be for the intelligent friends of religion to promote their circulation, by each doing a little in his own neighbourhood, we cannot help deploring the negligence which sets so narrow bounds to this most efficient instrument of good.

I confine myself to these brief hints on general coöperation, social and religious meetings, and the press. It is obvious that they do not cover the whole ground of our subject; — for the question still occurs, — Grant that by these methods the laity may be incited, who is to put in operation these methods? I have all along taken for granted, that Christians will act up to their obligations, when they fully perceive them, and are truly under the influence of their religion. To whom does it belong to make them sensible of their obligations and truly subject to their faith? to whom, but to those, who are placed 'over them in the Lord to admonish them'? the men who are expressly 'set for the defence of the Gospel'?

Hence, my brethren, the unspeakable interest of this inquiry to us. It is the question of *our* duty and responsibility even more than of that of our private brethren; — since undoubtedly it mainly depends on us, whether the impulse shall be given or not. Such is the relation of the people to the minister, and such the inevitable influence of that relation, that, as a general rule, the fidelity of the one party is a measure of the fidelity of the other. The tone of the church corresponds to the tone of the pulpit. The standard of duty and effort in society will be what the public preaching makes it. If we have reason, then, to be dissatisfied in any particular with the religious condition of the community, we have so far a presumptive ground for being dissatisfied with the condition of the pulpit. Not that this remark will hold true in its fullest extent, or that the whole deficiency of religion is to be attributed to deficiencies in its preaching; — but thus much I mean, — it becomes the ministers of religion, as humble, self-distrusting, responsible men, to suspect themselves and reexamine their principles and methods of operation, whenever they observe a falling short in the public of that character which a religious public ought to sustain. Christian truth is adequate to its ends. The chief action of Christian truth is

through the ministry. If those ends, then, be not brought about, since it cannot be owing to the inefficiency of the truth, it may be to that of its agents. This inefficiency on their part, may arise from want of talent, want of industry, want of zeal, or want of courage. When it is asked, therefore, how the public shall be excited to its full duty in regard to Christian truths, (the question now before us,) however others may answer it, the clergy must begin their answer by inquiring whether it be not in part from their own imbecility, indolence, luke-warmness, or cowardice, — whether they have not yielded to the love of ease, or of the world, — whether the pulpit is not incapable, or asleep, or afraid?

As regards ourselves, brethren, when I take that view of our situation and relations which I have been presenting to you, it seems to me that the main thing requisite in us in order to the desired result, is, — that we be willing to use our influence. A vast influence resides with the clergy. So it has always been in all ages and countries. So, from the nature of the case, it always must be. So it is now, in the most intelligent and cultivated communities. We are slow to realize it in our own case, as individuals; — and I suppose that there never was a body of ministers more unpresumptuous in the use of it, more scrupulous lest they abuse it, more reluctant to appear to assume any thing because of their office; or of whom it could be more truly said, that, while their *indirect* influence is so great, their *direct exertion* of it is so insignificant. Doubtless discretion should be exercised, that so delicate a power be not thrown into jeopardy. But *our* danger lies on the side of too great discretion; and, if we design to bring up our congregations to the mark of which we have been speaking, we must be willing to use our influence, — nay, to *venture* something in regard to it. We must not fear to commit ourselves. We must be willing to take the responsibility of opinions and of measures, of directly advising, of earnestly recommending, of importunately urging. While we do not this, there remains dead in our hands a certain amount of power, we know not how great, for the advancement of the world, which we decline using, — a talent which we bury, a light which we hide, — for lack of which the churches may suffer darkness and decay, and we be found unprofitable servants.

Our situation is too prominent, the charge of the times to us too momentous, the power in our hands for good or ill, to

promote or hinder the progress of light, too great, the crisis of the world at which we stand too tremendous, — to admit of our hesitating or holding back, from any considerations of diffidence or self-distrust, or personal inconvenience. He best comes up to the summons of this hour of the Church, who takes a bold place and wields manfully his arm, though it be but a child's. In the onward press of the host, even men of small stature have their place, from which they must not shrink, and the victory may after all be won by the stone from a stripling's hand. The consciousness of our position, brethren, should quell the consciousness of our personal insignificance. It is not the many wise, many noble, many mighty, that are sent to call the world to Christ; the trumpet is trusted to the hands of the weak and the foolish; and if they will but put it boldly to their mouths, even they can call out notes that may awake the slumbers of the dead. The consciousness of our position! — Alas, how little do we habitually regard it! If we go across the water, and stand on the shore of our father-land, we find our brethren there stretching their eyes towards us with anxiety and high expectation; — they think that they perceive in our position a bright hope for the world, — an opportunity to reform the reformation, to emancipate a continent from spiritual bondage; — standing, as we seem to be, at the birth-place of a new stream of time, with power to turn its course whither we will, ere its waters have swollen in their onward passage to an unmanageable river. Those who thus see us from a distance may undoubtedly exaggerate our powers and responsibility; but we that look on ourselves where we are, are as certainly liable to underrate them. Who will assure us that their estimate is not more nearly the truth than our own? We do stand at a new era, with an unparalleled opportunity. Who can say that on the right ordering of it as much does not depend, in this country, as depended in Europe on the efforts of the Apostles and Reformers? And yet, what are we comparatively doing? Where are our Paul and our Luther? And what would Paul and Luther have effected, had they been as chary about their influence, and as backward to volunteer for the truth, as we are?

A single word more in conclusion, — for I cannot dwell on these hints.

If we would be true to our place, and bring up the great community of laymen to be also true, — we must not forget that the grand secret, the single and sufficient thing, is, to make them *individually* CHRISTIANS. It is because men know religion only as a speculation, an abstraction, a form, a habit of education, and not as the main interest of the heart, the first and favorite concern, that they are so backward in the support of its institutions, and so dead to the demands of the age. It is the want of personal religion, which more than all other things, creates the want of personal action. We talk but to the deaf, when we discourse of effort and sacrifice for glorious truth, to those who have not yet perceived its glory; we expostulate with the blind, when we urge them to look abroad on the beauty of a Christianized world, and they have never yet opened their eyes so as to perceive that beauty. We must begin with their own souls; we must persuade them to study themselves, to sound the depths of their own spiritual nature, to fathom their own infinite wants, — to acquaint themselves with God, and test the peace and joy of believing, and KNOW from experience, that Christianity is the chief blessing, the only satisfaction, the immortal treasure of man.

When we have done this, our work is done. They who feel and believe thus, will be ready for every good work, and will sacrifice any other blessing before they will allow the means of religious advancement to fail.

The object of the ministry is the promotion of personal religion. Strive as we may, we do nothing soundly or permanently, unless we begin here. When we begin here, and effect this, we have effected every thing; and that man does most toward the spread of Christianity and the perpetuity of its institutions, who most effectively operates on *individual hearts*, and binds them to the love of the truth. This is the only thorough power of the ministry. Let us earnestly wield it. Let us be ambitious to excel in it. May God give us wisdom in its exercise; to Him be the glory!

H. W. jr.

ART. VI. — *Lectures on the Doctrines of Christianity, in Controversy between Unitarians and other Denominations of Christians.* Delivered in the First Independent Church of Baltimore. By GEORGE W. BURNAP. Baltimore. 1835. 12mo. pp. viii. and 394.

THE peculiar state of our religious community has called forth, during the last twenty years, a singular amount of critical, doctrinal, and controversial theology. It may be doubted if in any period of the church, at least within so limited a space of time and country, the contested points of faith and fact belonging to our religion, have been subjected to more constant and various, if not thorough, investigation. We qualify the application of the word *thorough*, because very much that has been so called deserves a different epithet. But much there has been, which is undeniably of that character, — patient, discriminating, candid, and thorough inquiry into the foundations, on which the different denominations profess to build their different systems of faith and form. Whether this has been well for the faith and forms of Christianity as a whole, whether it has hastened or hindered the advance of truth, whether that which *we* hold as truth, has gained or lost disciples, has removed or multiplied obstacles to its progress by this state of controversy, is a question often asked, and seldom satisfactorily, or indeed very definitely answered. Nor can it be definitely answered. Its very nature precludes it. It is always an unsatisfactory labor, to compare what has been with what might have been in the opposite circumstances, in matters of this kind. It would be a wiser use of time, and a far worthier object of solicitude, to discern between the good and evil of that which we have experienced, to be thankful for the one, and take lessons from the other. All seasons of religious agitation are fraught with danger; but not more so than seasons of religious stagnation. For ourselves, if we could doubt that controversy is better than apathy, we should doubt whether the human mind had been wisely framed, or religion and man designed to be free and progressive.

But freedom from controversy need not be apathy, we are told; nor was it, before the period just noticed. There has been, there always may be, strong interest in religion, — discussion, action, energy, — without controversy. Much may be written and read upon the great practical truths of Christianity;

attention may be powerfully awakened, and a healthy excitement sustained, without disturbing those fires of discord, out of which "cometh the viper." There is obvious truth in such assertions, though there is often great want of discrimination in them. We have no expectation of witnessing, nor are we clear in desiring, a period of absolute cessation from all that can be called religious controversy. But a period of rest from some kinds of controversy, we confess, we do desire. A truce to some of the hostilities into which we have of late been drawn, or rather driven, we do pray for. We cannot doubt, that the great effort at this time should be, to direct attention to things practical rather than doctrinal; to the history and truth, the ordinances and precepts, of our religion; to those principles, which are held in common by all Christians and rejected in gross by all unbelievers, instead of those in which unbelief itself exults and grows bold.

It was with this feeling, and therefore with something of regret, that we received the volume whose title is prefixed to these remarks. In the little that we have to say of it, we would speak honestly, and if we speak in some censure or doubt, that which we say in approbation will be taken, we trust, not as of course or of party, but as of sincerity. The author of these Lectures must have anticipated objections of the kind we have suggested; especially as he writes on a spot, where we had almost the first, and have since had some of the ablest controversial writings of our day. It was natural to think, that there at least enough had been said and thought on these vexed and vexing topics. We had seen also the difficulty with which all large works of this character, even from the ablest minds, have found their way into the reading community, or returned so much as a pecuniary compensation to their authors. But all these are considerations apart from the character of the work itself. They are considerations too in which we are all liable to err, when we attempt to judge and decide for others. There may have been good reason for the "deviation" from what, as Mr. Burnap tells us in his Introduction, has been his usual course of public instruction. He has "abstained almost entirely from the introduction of subjects of a purely controversial nature," and now gives these Lectures "to meet the wants of the rising generation, who justly demand to know the reason of the faith of their fathers." To give the young, as they come forward, sufficient instruc-

tion on these subjects to save them from error, and at the same time to keep before them the paramount importance of "a pure heart and a pure life," is one of the most obvious and arduous duties to which the Christian minister is called. It may be that we take too much for granted, when we suppose that our young people, or those of any age, will obtain sufficient knowledge of doctrines, from the common instructions of the pulpit or their incidental reading. It is certain that our own, if no other people, will receive from our lips or our pages, through a mistaken, perhaps, but blessed partiality, instruction on subjects, which otherwise would have had little interest for them.

The subjects discussed in this volume need not be enumerated. They include, as the title indicates, all the common doctrines in dispute between Unitarians and others, beside several on the character of Christianity, the character of a Christian, and the origin and nature of Creeds. These topics cover much ground, and we think it no small merit to have brought them all, with sufficient notice of all important features, within a moderate volume. It has been done, and done ably. There are marks throughout the book of a clear and strong mind. There is much of just discrimination, and severe, sound logic. Even among those who may think it was less called for than books of a different kind, there will be but one opinion, we apprehend, as to its ability. It is by no means a repetition of other men's words or even thoughts, though on subjects so old, and, as some would say, exhausted. Mr. Burnap has succeeded to an uncommon degree in finding new arguments for old truths, and drawing from familiar commonplaces fresh and valuable considerations. This we consider the prominent feature of the volume. There is comparatively very little use of those views, those modes of defending and opposing, which almost all other writers have used. The most important controverted passages of Scripture are treated, it is true, and they always must be, in essentially the same way in which they have been before. But these are much less dwelt upon than usual, while other passages, that have not commonly been brought into the argument and perhaps would not have been thought by common readers to have any bearing upon it, are happily introduced and turned to good account.

Thus, on the subject of the Trinity, Mr. Burnap shows, in

regard to those passages in which limited knowledge and power are ascribed to the Son, (as in Mark xiii. 32, John v. 19,) that, beside the obvious force of the declarations themselves, the very word "Son" contains an unanswerable argument, and deprives Trinitarians of the common subterfuge of an inferior nature, in which these things are supposed to be said. For "Son is the highest name or character he assumes, the very character and name he assumes, in the Trinity, 'Father, Son and Holy Ghost,' and must include, if any epithet can be supposed to include, his highest nature." Many arguments for the Trinity depend on that very word 'Son.' And yet as it does not always and of itself include divinity, no argument raised upon it can be trusted; "the term 'Son' and 'Son of God,' as proving any thing concerning Christ's nature, must be for ever abandoned."

A similar use is made of another class of familiar passages, as may be seen in a short extract, though it contains but a part of the whole argument on this point.

"'That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give you the spirit of wisdom.' Here God and Father are also used as synonymous, and that Being is the God of Jesus Christ. One of the persons of the Trinity certainly cannot be God to another. It can mean nothing else, then, than that Father is coëxtensive with God, takes in the whole Deity, and that whole Deity is the God of Christ. Of consequence Christ can make no part of his own God. To escape this conculsion it may be alleged that this is said of his inferior or human nature. Then it will follow that the title 'Lord' is applied to his inferior or human nature, for it is said, 'the God of our Lord Jesus Christ'; and the title 'Lord,' as proving a superior nature in him, can never again be used." — pp. 27, 28.

A like argument is drawn from our Saviour's own declaration, — "My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me." No aid can be derived here from the convenient supposition of the double nature, because the assertion relates to Christ as a teacher, not as a man. To say that he *taught* in an inferior human nature, is to strike at the authority of his instructions and the divinity of his message. "He taught, if he did any thing, as Christ, in his highest person or nature." It has always seemed to us marvellous, that those holding the view of Scripture which Trinitarians profess to hold, should yet be willing to make a distinction between what Christ taught as God and

what he taught as man, without one word from him or the Evangelists to tell us when or where the distinction is to be observed. It subjects revelation to carnal reason, and leaves it at the mercy of every mind, more completely than any system of which we have knowledge.

The instances adduced above may give some idea of the manner in which Mr. Burnap treats the doctrine of the Trinity. He devotes to it three Lectures, making nearly a fourth part of the volume. And when we first saw that, we feared a surfeit, if nothing worse, and had great distrust of our fortitude to encounter so much on a doctrine, which begins, in our view, to lie among things that were. It is rare to meet with a modern treatise or a modern Christian, who gives to the Trinity any explanation that separates it far from a nominal, Sabellian, and therefore really Unitarian scheme.* It seems to us therefore to be saying enough, though we could honestly say more, to assert that we actually read every page and line of these Lectures, and felt glad we had read them. We were rewarded.

Two of the ablest discourses in this volume are those on Original Sin and Total Depravity. We could quote profitably many pages, but have room for one only, and that taken simply for a specimen of the author's mode of handling these antiquated errors.

"God creates us as really through our parents, as he did Adam without parents. And we have just the constitution and nature that God designed, as much as he had. If sin be the only, the necessary, the natural action of our constitution, or that combination of powers which God has given us, then sin is the natural use and exercise of all our faculties, and must be presumed to be the end for which they were made. Sin is then the natural use, not the perversion, of our powers. Sin then is no longer sin. Virtue would be a perversion, would be sin. The very essence of sin is, that it is a perversion of our nature and powers from the end and use for which they were designed, to something else. The end of

* To our surprise and shame, we find in a late book from a Boston clergyman, an attempt to prove the Trinity from Scripture, by altering the text without authority, to meet the necessity. Because the Greek particle translated *and* sometimes means *even*, this writer renders it so wherever he needs it; as in Titus, ii. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Peter, i. 1. — And then boldly says — "Christ is declared in the above scriptures to be the 'GREAT GOD,' the 'TRUE GOD,' 'SUPREME GOD.'" — *Winslow's Discourses on the Trinity*, p. 41. We hope to hear no more about *Unitarians* altering the translation to suit their purposes.

a thing cannot possibly be other than the only end which it is made capable of attaining. Then if sin be the only thing which man by his natural powers can do, sin is the end for which he is made. Virtue cannot be the end for which man is made, if he is made naturally, utterly incapable of virtue. So this system, in its zeal to break man down and humble him under a sense of his sin, overshoots its mark, proves too much, defeats its own object, and makes man no sinner at all. For the power to do right is necessary to the guilt of doing wrong. The power to obey is indispensable to the moral turpitude of disobedience. All guilt supposes choice of evil when good was in our power. If good is not within our choice, then the very condition is taken away which constitutes any act sin. Accountability and power, according to the eternal laws of justice and the nature of things, must be always precisely commensurate with each other. To suppose that God made man for virtue, and gave him such a constitution that its natural, spontaneous, and necessary fruit and action is vice, is a contradiction in terms." — pp. 139, 140.

It is worthy of passing remark, that while these Lectures are issuing from the press, and some are saying or thinking they were not needed, and many more would probably say that such a sentiment as that of the extract just given, though here very well expressed, is too obvious and indisputable to call for the labor, — at this very moment, the sound of a fierce controversy reaches us from the West, a controversy waged in the bosom of the Presbyterian church, turning chiefly on this very point, using indeed almost the identical language of Mr. Burnap, which one Orthodox Doctor has ventured to adopt, and which another Orthodox Doctor arraigns as rank heresy. Dr. Beecher is actually charged with teaching, "that man is rendered capable by his Maker of obedience; that ability to obey is indispensable to moral obligation, to demerit, and to punishment for disobedience, &c., all which is contrary to the standards." The standards! It is verily enormous, that, six thousand years after man was created in the image of God, and in the nineteenth century of such a religion as that of Christ, there should stand up a Christian minister, sustained by some twenty other Christian ministers, to bring a sober public charge against a brother minister, grounded upon these two alleged misdemeanors. First, "he declares that no action can be either holy or unholy, unless there is understanding, conscience, and a choice. The other proposition is, that no just law ever condemns or criminates a man for not doing that

which he cannot do." — How sadly we mistake, when we suppose it unnecessary now to attempt to convince men, that justice is justice, that to obey does not mean to disobey, and that God punishes men for doing what he forbids, not what he compels them to do. We thank Mr. Burnap, not only for speaking well, but also for speaking "a word in season."

Of the latter part of this volume we cannot speak with so decided approbation as of the former. With much good thought, there seems to us less strong argument and rather less charity and fair statement. The statements are true and fair so far as human creeds and written formularies are concerned, and for the most part they relate to creeds and formularies. But if taken, as they will be, as setting forth the actual opinions and reasonings of men at the present day, we doubt if they are entirely correct. Creeds are not now, if they ever were, a just criterion of minds. They do not bind them, they do not represent them. Dr. Wilson may storm as much as he will about men's defection from the standards; he can no more prevent it, than he can prevent thought. As Jeremy Taylor says in a similar connexion, he might as well "clap his shoulder to the ground to stop an earthquake." Men are departing from all standards and all creeds. They are forgetting that they have any creeds. They do not know what they are sworn to believe. There is nothing more common than to meet with Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and others, who deny that such and such things are in their creeds, and will not admit it until they are pointed to the articles themselves; and then they attempt to put upon them some other than the old and obvious sense. It is an instructive fact, too, that at the present moment there is not a sect in our land, that is not rent and vexed with internal dissensions, unless it be the Unitarian. Episcopacy is not now the only province that has its High and Low church. You may see it among Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Universalists, and even the peaceable Quakers. In every pale, there is a respectable and growing number, who care little for paper fences, and are fast overleaping them, or trampling them down.

In this state of things we cannot but think it a mistake in Mr. Burnap, to labor with the old creeds just as they are, and charge all these absurdities upon the mass of Christians. To be sure, those who retain them are liable to this charge, and

we have just seen some melancholy proofs of close adhesion to their letter in all its rigor. But these are exceptions. At all events, there are many who differ, and many who would be pained and offended by some of the language here employed. This remark applies particularly to the Lecture on the inquiry, — "How does a man become a Christian?" We do not think that Lecture, nor the one on a similar subject, "What is it to be a Christian?" which the author first published separately under the title of "Sectarianism, both Catholic and Protestant," to be fair specimens of the volume. They are not so unexceptionable in language or so cogent in reasoning, if we may judge, as most of the Lectures. We should have been better pleased to see less about the opinions and probable motives of others, and more of independent statement and defence of our own opinions. But this the plan of the work perhaps rendered difficult. The faults, if such they are, to which we have referred, are not frequent, and we do not forget, that the writer lives in a community where such discussions may be imperiously required. We commend his book to all who would see an able exposure of the weaknesses of Trinitarianism. E. B. H.

ART. VII. — *Trial of the Rev. Dr.* LYMAN BEECHER *for Heresy.* Reported for "The New York Observer."

THE trial of Dr. Beecher for *heresy* sounds so oddly in this quarter, and constitutes withal so singular a fact in the religious history of the times, that we suppose it will not do for us to pass it over without particular notice. Be it understood, however, that we do not mean, in the midst of dog-days and at the very heel of the Number, to allow ourselves to be drawn into a controversy, in which we have neither part nor lot. The "Trial," as reported, would fill a considerable volume. Our only object will be to go over it in order, extracting such passages as we think will interest or amuse our readers, and indicating, as we proceed, with some care, the leading positions taken by the parties. Or if, in a few instances, we shall be tempted to throw in a remark or two of our own on the general correctness of these positions, or on their relevancy

to the question at issue, it will be with the feelings and in the character of a looker-on, to whom the decision of the question itself is a matter of absolute indifference;

"Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur."

It is understood that the report of Dr. Beecher's alleged defection from some of the distinctive peculiarities of Calvinism went before him to the Western country, and caused his reception there by a part of his brethren to be any thing but cordial. The individuial, who from the beginning has most distinguished himself in his opposition to the great eastern heresiarch, is the Rev. Dr. Joshua L. Wilson, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati, the patriarch of his denomination beyond the mountains, and the acknowledged leader of the Old School party in that region. He is, we are informed, a Kentuckian, and a veteran polemic, less famed even among his friends for suavity of manner and the amenities of life, than for courage and a certain downrightness and inflexibility of character, qualities which have naturally led him to become, what he appears not unambitious of being regarded, — the *malleus hereticorum* of the West. All this, at any rate, is in perfect accordance with the course he has taken in relation to Dr. Beecher, to whom his opposition, whatever questions may be raised respecting its policy or courtesy, is admitted on all hands, we believe, to have been, from the moment he became fully apprized of the danger to be apprehended, honest, consistent, unceasing, and above board. He took the earliest opportunity publicly to bring into question the soundness of Dr. Beecher's orthodoxy, but was prevented from making it matter of formal adjudication, until this summer, when, at his instance, the case came on for trial before the Presbytery of Cincinnati, at an adjourned meeting convened in that city on Tuesday, the 9th of June. In the list of charges preferred against Dr. Beecher, he is accused of heresy on the subjects of original sin, total depravity, and regeneration, and in holding "a doctrine of perfection"; and, in addition to this, his character is also impeached as being guilty of the sins of slander and hypocrisy.

"Dr. Beecher being called upon to answer, said, 'I am not guilty of heresy: I am not guilty of slander: I am not guilty of hypocrisy or dissimulation in the respect charged. I do not say that I have not taught the doctrines charged: but I deny their

being false doctrines. The course which I shall take will be to justify.'

"The moderator calling upon Dr. Beecher to say what plea should be entered upon the minutes in his name, Dr. Beecher replied, the plea of 'Not Guilty.'"

Witnesses were then called, and on being "duly sworn," they were examined touching the specifications contained in the bill of charges. Dr. Wilson then undertook to establish and make good the impeachment, article by article; Dr. Beecher replied, and in a long and able argument endeavoured to defend himself against it; Dr. Wilson returned to the charge, and Dr. Beecher again defended; and then, after a few words by Dr. Wilson, the vote was taken. A week was consumed in the trial. We now shall put together what is advanced by the witnesses, and in the several speeches, on the leading topics, so as to give a connected view of the whole, as ample as our limits will allow.

To those of us who have been nurtured in Congregational liberty, for which the true-hearted among our forefathers were much more zealous than for any particular form of doctrine, the following extract, taken from Dr. Wilson's exordium, will seem better fitted for the meridian of the Vatican, than of this country.

"In the hands of church officers, the Lord Jesus Christ has placed the government of his kingdom on earth; and I can conceive of no station more responsible than that occupied by those to whom are committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven; to open that kingdom to the penitent; to shut it against the impenitent; to vindicate the truth and honor of Christ; to purge out that unholy leaven of error, which might infect the whole lump; to deter men from the commission of offences; and prevent the wrath of God from falling on the church.

"It belongs to the officers of the kingdom of our Lord, when solemnly convened as a court of Christ, ministerially and authoritatively to determine not only cases of conscience and matters of practice, but to decide controversies; and their decisions, if consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission."

"The keys of the kingdom of Heaven" committed not only to uninspired, but to weak, prejudiced, and guilty mortals! "Officers," forsooth, "of the kingdom of our Lord," "a court of Christ," "*authoritatively* to determine *not only*

cases of conscience and matters of practice, but to decide controversies"! By what warrant? What do these gentlemen mean? Is our controversy with the Papists a mere scramble for office? Is it admitted that the power arrogated by them, as the officers and court of the Lord Jesus Christ, "authoritatively" to decide matters of faith and conscience, — is it admitted that this is a rightful power, only that it ought to be in our hands and not in theirs? "Ah, but observe the limitations," some one will say. "It is only to the 'penitent' that they open the kingdom of Heaven; and only to the 'impenitent' that they shut it." Indeed! We thank them for that. But the Papists also say the very same thing, in the very same words, on the subject of confession and indulgences. But again; their decisions must be "consonant to the word of God." Very well: but who is to judge whether they are or are not consonant to the word of God? The accused? Then his trial itself is a mere farce and means nothing. Or the court, — which seems to be implied in their commission to decide "*authoritatively*"? Then the qualifying clause means nothing — dust thrown into the eyes of the people; or worse than that, — a trap, a snare.

The question may arise, Can Dr. Beecher brook such a despotism? We might answer that a man has but little to brook, who joins a denomination in which his own party predominates, and in the well-grounded expectation of leading that party. It does not call for quite so much humility and long-suffering to wield power, however unjustly assumed, as to submit to its tyrannical impositions. But we prefer to let Dr. Beecher speak for himself.

"The question now at issue turns then upon an exposition of the Confession of Faith, *not merely as a human formula, but as our admitted epitome of what the Bible teaches.* I am charged with a fundamental departure from the true intent of the Confession. I claim that I understand and interpret it truly; or that if there be any variation, it affects only such points of difference as have in every form been decided to be consistent with edification and an honest subscription and an honorable standing in the church. *The confession is not a mere human composition. The statement indeed is made by man; but it is the statement of what God has said, and is to us who receive it, as God's word. Dr. Wilson has said, that we are bound to abide by it so far as it is consistent with God's word; but we have settled that, in receiving it as the symbol of our faith.* We profess that it is in all its parts according to

God's word. What is its true sense is, in case of dispute, to be settled by the courts above; but we have agreed to submit to it and be bound by it; and if we do not like the final decision of the supreme judicatory, no course is left but to go out of the church. For *I deny and repudiate all right of private judgment in opposition to the public decision of the whole church.*"

We should be sorry to put Dr. Beecher to the trouble of making a *seventh* public effort to explain his sentiments on this subject: indeed, we think he has succeeded at last in making them sufficiently intelligible. On connecting himself with the Presbyterian Church, he adopts her Confession of Faith, it would seem, "not merely as a human formula, but as an admitted epitome of what the Bible teaches," leaving the sense of this document, in cases of dispute, to be authoritatively determined by her highest ecclesiastical judicatories. He must henceforth regard this Confession, not as "a mere human composition," but "*as God's word,*" Dr. Wilson's reservation, *so far* as it is consistent with God's word, coming, as he concedes, too late, for in the very act of receiving it as the symbol of his faith, its substantial accordance with God's word, is understood to be agreed upon and settled. That is to say, before it is agreed upon and settled what the Confession means, it is agreed upon and settled, (we are not told how,) that, whatever the Confession means, it means precisely what the Bible means: and afterwards, in cases of dispute about the meaning of the Confession, this is to be authoritatively determined, in the last resort, by a vote of the General Assembly, which decision is to be regarded as obligatory and final. In fine, and to put the matter beyond the possibility of misconstruction, Dr. Beecher denies and repudiates, in so many words, "all right of private judgment, in opposition to the public decision of the whole church." Did a Papist ever do more? for Papists also recognise the right of appeal from the Pope to a general council. "Yes, but Dr. Beecher can 'go out of the church.'" So he can; and so also can the Papist "go out of the church," and, after doing so, he is free as the air. The question is, Can Dr. Beecher exercise the Protestant right of private judgment *while in the church?* He admits, if we understand him aright, that he CANNOT. Dr. Beecher may say in reply, perhaps, that it is none of our business: and it is none, we allow, except simply to record the fact.

So much for the jurisdiction of the court.

The first important position which Dr. Wilson takes in opposition to Dr. Beecher is, that the latter had lost his reputation for a sound and thorough Orthodoxy, before leaving this part of the country; that, while here, he was generally supposed to belong to, or at least to favor the New Haven School, the newest school of all. His principal authorities for this alleged fact, are some anonymous "Letters on the Present State and Probable Results of Theological Speculations in Connecticut," published over the signature "An Edwardean," and Mr. Rand's "Letter to Dr. Beecher on the Influence of his Ministry in Boston." The author of the first mentioned pamphlet, alluding to Dr. Beecher's Letters to Dr. Woods, says:

"These letters contain some pathetic remarks on the benefits of union, and the evils of alienation. But these remarks, from Dr. Beecher, come too late in the day, and they imply an incorrect view of the subject. They imply that the divisions and alienations are occasioned by the opponents of Dr. Taylor, whereas they are chargeable wholly to his friends, and himself. It is presumed that some transactions, which took place ten years ago, are not now present to Dr. Beecher's recollection. The days and nights he has spent with Dr. Taylor in maturing and bringing forward this very system, which makes all the disturbance; and the warnings they then received from an intimate friend, who was sometimes present, and who pointed out to them these very consequences, have probably passed, in some degree, into oblivion. There is no doubt, that if Dr. Beecher would, even now, set himself to undo, what, by his countenance he has done in this matter, the breach would, in a great measure, be healed. But for him now to write letters on the benefits or duty of union, though very full of feeling, will not reach the case. Some example with precept is needful. And especially, let him not attempt now, to cast the odium of this separation on those who have done nothing to produce it, and who have, from the beginning, deprecated its existence; those who have kept straight forward in the doctrines, in which they have always found consolation, and by which they would administer it to others."

Mr. Rand speaks still more plainly.

"My complaint against you, Sir, is, that you have acted fully with other leaders in this matter; but not with that open avowal of your object, which was to be expected from your general reputation for frankness, and from your Christian profession.

"Of this new scheme of doctrine, which I have said I cannot stay to exhibit at length, it is requisite I should give a synopsis.

Perhaps I cannot better characterize it in a few words, than by saying, that it resembles, in its prominent features and bearing, *Wesleyanism;* a strange mingling of evangelical doctrine with Arminian speculations; a system, if such it may be called, which the Orthodox of New England have long believed to be subversive of the Gospel, and tending to produce spurious conversions. It certainly has some variations from that system, however, which I need not point out. It professedly embraces the atonement, the deity of Christ, the Trinity, the personality and offices of the Spirit, depravity, regeneration, justification, and the other doctrines of grace. Its distinctive feature is, that it abundantly inculcates human activity and ability in the affair of salvation; even professing to resuscitate them from the dead, alleging that we have heretofore killed and buried them. Holding that sinners, though depraved, have *power* to convert themselves, it proposes the minute and direct *steps* by which they may effect it, content with a general allusion now and then to the necessity of a divine influence to aid and persuade them.

* * * * *

"I only mean to say, that in New England the impression is strong and deep, that you have fully preached among us the theology above described; that while Dr. Taylor and others have written, and reasoned, and philosophized, and mysticized, you have rendered the same system palpable and practical in your preaching and ministrations, subserving their cause far more effectually than they have done themselves."

On the other side Dr. Beecher submitted to the Presbytery letters which he had received, more than seven years ago, from Dr. Green and Dr. Miller, and also the official letter of invitation to the professorship in the Lane Seminary which he now holds, signed by Dr. Wilson himself. These letters, though they contain strong expressions of respect and confidence, prove but little; as it is understood that the writers of them, on being better informed, have materially altered their minds in regard to the implications and tendencies of Dr. Beecher's doctrines and measures. Professor Stowe is his best witness, who deposed, and, for aught we know to the contrary, correctly, that Dr. Beecher's reputation and influence among the Orthodox of New England were never greater than at the moment of his leaving; that he was not understood to go all lengths either with Dr. Taylor, or Mr. Finney; and that he had but "three open and declared assailants of public character," Thomas Whittemore, Moses Thatcher, and Asa Rand. But who is this "Rev. Artemas Bullard," who testifies so flippantly?

"For nearly five years I was Agent of the Massachusetts Sunday School Union, before Dr. Beecher was called to the West, and for several years a member of Dr. B.'s church in Boston. I have visited nearly every orthodox Congregational minister in Massachusetts, and a great portion of all in the New England States. Among all these I know the reputation of Dr. B. had been uniformly rising till he left. There was no minister in New England so uniformly dreaded and hated by Unitarians and Universalists as Dr. B. I was in the church meeting when the question was discussed whether Dr. B should be dismissed to come here. The main reason urged why he should not come, by members of the church, was, that he never had so much influence in the orthodox community as then.

"Dr. WILSON. What is the standard of orthodoxy among the clergymen you denominate orthodox? — Ans. Those are denominsted orthodox, in New England, who are opposed to Unitarian sentiments.

"Dr. W. Have they any written or published creed, and which forms a bond of union among them in one system of doctrine? — Ans. Nothing like the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian church.

"Dr. W. Is not every congregation, in respect to its articles of faith, independent, claiming the right of forming its own creed and covenant? — Ans. I believe they are.

"Dr. W. Was the creed and covenant of Dr. B.'s church similar to that which has been extracted from the sermon on "Faith once delivered to the Saints?" — Ans. I never compared the two.

"Dr. W. In what estimation did the orthodox ministers of New England hold that sermon? — Ans. I don't recollect ever hearing that mentioned as distinct from other sermons.

"Dr. W. Has Mr. Rand, in his letter to Dr. B. misrepresented or misstated Dr. B.'s connexions with Dr. Taylor and Mr. Finney? — Ans. I don't know what was in that letter.

"Dr. W. Why did the Unitarians hate Dr. B. when the Christian Examiner, in a review of his sermon on 'Faith once delivered,' &c. claimed the sentiments as their own? — Ans. They hated and dreaded him, because they supposed that he was the most powerful and efficient opponent of Unitarian sentiments. His labors in Boston were specially directed to counteract Unitarian sentiments.

"Dr. W. Do you not know it as a historical fact, that Unitarians greatly rejoice at the progress of what is called new theology? — Ans. They did not, if you mean that Dr. Beecher's doctrines are new theology.

"Mr. BRAINERD. Are the orthodox ministers and churches of New England Calvinists? — Ans. Yes, so far as they follow any man.

"Dr. Beecher. In what estimation do ministers and churches hold the Assembly's Shorter Catechism? — Ans. The orthodox churches, universally, consider it the best epitome of the doctrines of the Bible. The families are taught that Catechism as universally as they are in the Presbyterian church."

It may be so; but we had been led of late to form a better opinion of the Orthodox churches in the neighbourhood. However, we must in justice say, that this Mr. Bullard has travelled about the country to some purpose, having picked up one of the best definitions of New England Orthodoxy which we recollect to have seen. It has but little or nothing to do, it seems, with a man's own opinions or character, but consists in his opposing Unitarianism, no matter how or why. Neither do we much blame the witness for asserting, contrary to the fact, that Dr. Beecher was "uniformly *dreaded* and *hated* by Unitarians;" for there are those, we are aware, who cannot possibly conceive that an active and able member of another sect should be the object of any other feelings. Let him pass. But it may be proper to quote Dr. Beecher's own account of his connexion with one of the disorganizers; especially as it purports to clear up an affair involved at the time, we recollect, in some mystery and contradiction.

"When I was in Boston, as many as *twenty* deacons, or other influential members of the churches, got together, and invited the ministers to meet them; and they proposed that we should send for Mr. Finney. After consultation and discussion, when it came to the vote, every layman, I believe, voted for the measure, and every minister against it. The interposition of the ministers prevented his being sent for, much to the grief of many of the people. Some time after this, Dr. Wisner went to Providence to labor in a protracted meeting. There he met Mr. Finney, heard his doctrine, and became acquainted with his views and measures; and when he returned to Boston, he told the ministers that he was satisfied, and he thought that we ought to yield to the wishes of the churches. We assented accordingly; and then the Union church of Boston, with the approbation of the pastors and the other evangelical churches, invited Mr. Finney to come and labor amongst us. When he came to Boston, I received and treated him as I think Dr. Wilson ought to have received and should have treated me. I gave him the right hand of fellowship, as expressive of my confidence in him, at least till something else should occur to shake it. He committed himself to our advice and guidance; he betrayed nothing of extravagance; he was just as compliant as

a lamb. And this I will say, that it will be long before I hear again so much truth, with as little to object to, in the manner of its exhibition, in the same space of time. He preached no heresy in my hearing; none. There was one of his measures which I did not entirely approve, and from which I wished him to desist; and he did desist. I have considered thus much as due both to myself and Mr. Finney."

Dr. Wilson endeavours to verify and establish the charge of actual heresy against Dr. Beecher by comparing doctrines advanced by the latter in his various publications, with "the standards" of the Presbyterian church. We shall here briefly, and in a few particulars, exhibit the contrast.

The Standards.

"Original sin is conveyed from our first parents unto their posterity *by natural generation*, so as all that proceed from them in that way are *conceived and born* in sin."

"They being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin, and corrupted nature *conveyed* to all their posterity, descending from them by ordinary generation."

"Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath *wholly lost all ability* of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation; so as a natural man, being altogether averse from that good, and dead in sin, *is not able*, by his own *strength*, to convert himself, or *to prepare himself thereto*."

"In the third petition (which is, 'Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven'), we pray, That God by his grace would make us *able and willing* to know, obey, and submit to his will in all things."

Dr. Beecher.

"To say of an accountable creature, that he is depraved by nature, is only to say, that, rendered capable by his Maker of obedience, he disobeys *from the commencement of his accountability*."

"This is according to the Bible — 'They have all *gone* aside,' — each man has been voluntary and active in his transgression. 'They go astray as soon as they be born;' that is, *in early life: — how early*, so as to deserve punishment, God only knows."

"Men are free agents; in the possession of such faculties, *and placed in such circumstances*, as to render it *practicable* for them to do whatever God requires."

"The sinner can be accountable, then, and he is accountable, for his impenitence and unbelief, though he will not turn, and God may never turn him, because he *is* able, and *only* unwilling to do what God commands, and which, being done, would save his soul. In-

"The sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell consisteth in the guilt of Adam's first sin, the want of that righteousness wherein he was created, and the corruption of his nature, whereby he is *utterly* indisposed, *disabled*, and made opposite unto all that is spiritually good."

"In the first petition (which is, 'Hallowed be thy name'), acknowledging the *utter inability* AND *indisposition*, that is in ourselves and all men, to honor God aright, we pray, that God would, by his grace, *enable* AND *incline* us and others to know, to acknowledge," &c.

"By this sin they fell from original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in *all the faculties and parts of soul and body*."

deed to be *able and unwilling* to obey God, is the only *possible* way in which a free agent can become deserving of condemnation and punishment."

"Whatever effect, therefore, the fall of man may have had on his race, it has not had the effect to render it impossible for man to love God religiously; and whatever may be the early constitution of man, there is nothing in it, and nothing *withheld from it*, which renders disobedience unavoidable, and obedience impossible. The *first* sin in every man is *free, and might have been*, and ought to have been, avoided."

"When he pours the daylight of conscience upon the soul, and comes to search out what is amiss, and put in order that which is out of the way, what impediment to obedience does he find to be removed, and what work does he perform? He finds *only* the will perverted, and obstinately persisting in its wicked choice; and in the day of his power, *all* he accomplishes is, to make the sinner *willing*."

Some of our readers may be curious to know how Dr. Beecher thinks to reconcile these apparent discrepancies. They shall see. He says:

"By natural ability, I mean, all those powers of mind which enter into the nature of a cause, with reference to its sufficiency to produce its effect, and by moral inability, I mean an inability of the will; not man's constitutional powers, but his use of them, so far as the will is concerned, — and I say that the Confession teaches man's natural ability and his moral inability, i. e. the aversion of his will; not a natural impossibility to will, but an unwillingness to choose as God requires.

"In confirmation of the first position, viz. that the Confession teaches man natural ability, I refer to chap. ix. sec. 1; and what does it say?

"'God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined, to good or evil.'

"Now if this declaration has respect to man, as a *race*, if the term *man*, as here employed, is generic, including Adam and all his posterity, then the passage quoted settles the question. The whole turns on, What is the meaning of the word *man*? Because, if it means man as *fallen*, if it means Adam's posterity, my opponent is gone."

It will be proper here to give the passage which Dr. Beecher has quoted from the Confession of Faith, in the connexion in which it stands. The Chapter, "Of Free Will," begins thus:

"God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature, determined to good or evil.

"II. Man, in his state of innocency, HAD *freedom and power to will and to do* that which is good and well-pleasing to God; but yet *mutably*, so that he *might* fall from it.

"III. Man, by his fall into a state of sin *hath wholly lost all ability of will* to any spiritual good accompanying salvation: so as a natural man, being altogether averse from that which is good, and dead in sin, is NOT ABLE," &c.

"The word *man*," in all these sections, evidently stands for "the race"; but, in the second section, at least, it as evidently stands for the race as it existed, according to the Calvinistic theory, in Adam *before the fall*. Man, prior to the fall, that is, "in his state of innocency," HAD the freedom and power, for which Dr. Beecher contends; but, even then, he held it *mutably*; that is, he was liable to lose it. And by his fall he *did in fact lose it*; to the race "all ability of will," or power of choice, is "wholly lost," and obedience by any strength, moral or natural, which man possesses as man, is no longer "practicable," is no longer "possible." Dr. Beecher may object, perhaps, that this is making the Confession teach an unscriptural and mischievous doctrine; but we are not to blame for that. Besides, it is the very same doctrine which Calvin taught in his Institutes. "Before the fall man had not merely *the capability of being the subject of volitions*, but *the power of choice*, in relation to both good and evil.

Since the fall, man *has the power of willing evil only*, until God by the supernatural influences of his spirit, gives him *ability* to choose good." * Turretin, also, expressly teaches it, who says: "The *inability* of man as a sinner is not to be called *moral* simply, in contradistinction to *natural*, as that is said by moral philosophers to be morally impossible which is such by custom rather than by nature, and which indeed is done with difficulty, yet is done sometimes and ought not to be reckoned among those things which are *absolutely impossible*." He avers, further on, that this inability is *natural* as well as moral, "because it infects *our whole nature*, and implies a privation of *that faculty* of doing well which *was* at first given to 'man,' and which *was* natural;" and "because it is unconquered and insuperable, not less than the *mere* natural inability in the blind for seeing, and in the dead of rising." "Therefore," he concludes, "as it is rightly called *moral and voluntary* to evince the guilt of man and render him inexcusable, so also it is *best* called NATURAL to aggravate the corruption of man and demonstrate the necessity of grace."

Dr. Beecher thinks, however, that another face can be put on this matter, and he shall be heard.

"I now take the question as settled, that 'man' here means man as a *race*, and that 'will' here means the will of man as a race; and it is what I hold, and what all the church hold, and it is the fair meaning of the Confession. What follows in the next section, with respect to man in a state of innocency, is a confirmation and an illustration of the doctrine as thus explained.

"'Man, in his state of innocency, had freedom and power to will and to do that which is good and well pleasing to God; but yet mutably, so that he might fall from it.' — Con. of F. ix. 2.

i. e. his free agency included the natural power of choosing right or of choosing wrong.

"Adam had the moral ability to stand, and he had it in a state of balanced power, in which he was capable of choosing, and liable to choose either way.

"Then comes section the third, which contains a description of the change induced by the fall, a change which respected the will of man, not his constitutional powers; a change in the voluntary use of his will.

"'Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost.'

"Lost! Lost what? Lost his will as endued by his Maker with

* Ely's *Contrast*, p. 46, where the references are given.

natural liberty, so that it cannot be forced? No, not a word of it. It was not that. It was something else he lost; and thereupon turns the question between us. The Confession says,

"—'lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation; so as a natural man, being altogether averse from that good, and dead in sin, is not able, by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.'

"He lost 'all ability of will.' Does this mean that, in respect to the power of choice, his will fell into a state of natural inability? Not at all. He had the power of choice as much as ever. But he had lost all moral ability, that is, inclination to choose what was good. His will was altogether averse from it. He was altogether unwilling. He fell into an inability of will, i. e. into unwillingness. This is the common use of terms until this day. Moral inability means not impossibility, but it means unwillingness. Man becomes 'dead.' But how? Not in the annihilation of his natural powers, not dead in the natural ability of his will, but dead in sin; so as 'not to be able, by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.' I say, Amen!—this is my doctrine. The word 'able,' and the word 'strength,' are both employed in a moral sense, and in a moral sense only; and, thus interpreted, the Confession is perfectly consistent with itself."

Still, we think, it may be fairly doubted whether the authors of the Confession, in drawing up the first section of this chapter, did not have in view the human will as originally "endued" by God, and considered in its own "nature," and exclusively of the effects wrought upon it by the fall. But granting that the "natural liberty" here recognised by them as belonging to the will was understood to pertain to all mankind, fallen or unfallen, can Dr. Beecher, with his reputation for logical acumen, and his acquaintance with the history of this controversy, suppose, that they meant to go to the extent of asserting with him, that "men are free agents; in the possession of such faculties, and placed in such circumstances, as to render it practicable for them to do whatever God requires"? They meant neither more nor less than what their contemporary Turretin did by his "power or natural faculty of will," called, in the gibberish of the schools, the first power and the material principle of moral actions, *a quâ est ipsum velle vel nolle.* They meant that men really willed what they willed, and willed it knowingly; and that in this respect human action, was distinguished from the action of things inanimate, and of brutes. They denied necessary action considered as distin-

guished from intelligent and voluntary action, or as implying a destitution of the faculties of intelligent and voluntary action. Further than this they did not go. In their view it was rank heresy to hold that man, in his fallen state, not only possesses the power of intelligent and voluntary action, but also such "a power of choice" as makes obedience, without supernatural aid, "*practicable.*" This power or ability of will they considered as "wholly lost," in consequence of which they maintained that obedience with the unregenerate was to "be reckoned among those things which are *absolutely impossible.*" With this understanding the second section accords; respecting which Dr. Beecher says, strangely enough,—"i. e. his free agency included the natural power of choosing right or of choosing wrong." Does he suppose, that this is *all* which is here taught? Does he not perceive, that the authors of the Confession were not more careful to state that man originally possessed a "freedom and power," which made him capable of obedience, than they were to add, that he was liable at any moment, even then, to lose this "freedom and power." And, in the third section, this loss is said to have been actually incurred. "Lost!" exclaims Dr. Beecher. "Lost what?" "He fell into an inability of will, i. e. into unwillingness. This is the common use of terms until this day. Moral inability means not impossibility, but it means unwillingness." On the contrary, we have seen, that in the time of Turretin, and when the Confession of Faith was drawn up, the "inability of man as a sinner," was understood by consistent Calvinists to mean absolute impossibility, not less "insuperable" "than the *mere* natural inability in the blind for seeing, and in the dead of rising." Unwillingness! To be sure, whoever is not willing to obey God, is unwilling. He has fallen into a state of unwillingness. But is that *all*? Is nothing said about the cause of this unwillingness? Can man help this state of unwillingness, or remove or alleviate its cause, so that, it is still "practicable" for him to obey God? All consistent Calvinists, as "the Standards" require, say, No. Dr. Beecher, if we understand him, says, sometimes at least, Yes: and, if so, he, it would seem, "is gone."

On the subject of original sin, a new "technic" has been invented in the Western country, which, if we may trust Dr. Beecher, is likely to "carry us all out of the swamp together." This "technic" is "social liability." But what does "so-

cial liability" mean? Dr. Bishop, President of the Miami University, observes:

"Every citizen of these United States, who thinks at all, must feel that himself and his children, and his children's children, are deeply interested in the conduct and character of the President of the United States, for the time being. An able and virtuous President, with an able and wise and faithful cabinet, must be a great blessing to the millions, both the born and unborn, on both sides of the Atlantic. And, on the other hand, a weak and wicked President and cabinet must be the occasion of inconceivable inconveniences, and real privations and sufferings, to countless millions, both of the present and of succeeding generations. But yet no man ever thought of attributing to himself, or to his children, the personal wisdom, or intellectual ability, or inflexible integrity, which has marked the character of any distinguished executive officer; nor, on the other hand, has he ever thought of being charged individually, or of having his children charged individually, with the weakness, or wickedness, of a bad executive officer. He, and his children, and his neighbours, and their children feel and acknowledge, that they are personally and deeply involved in the consequences of the official acts of these men, whether these consequences are of a beneficial or a hurtful tendency; but, at the same time, individual and personal merit and demerit, and individual and personal responsibility, are clearly understood, and never, for a moment, *merged in social and representative transaction.*"

Very well. We think we can understand that. But what follows? Why it follows, that when the Confession speaks of our first parents as having become "wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body" by their apostasy, and when it goes on to declare that "the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity, descending from them by ordinary generation," "whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil," we are to understand that nothing more is intended than a mere "social liability"; very much like the social liabilities of this country from the misconduct of an unwise or unprincipled administration. Very much like them indeed! Admitting, however, that the parallelism were perfect, it does not seem to us to have much to do with the subject. The heresy charged on Dr. Beecher does not consist wholly or chiefly in the theory he entertains respecting the mode in which original sin is transmitted, but rather in his belief as regards the extent

of that sin considered as a fact. Dr. Wilson holds, as do "the standards," that the depraved nature conveyed by our first parents to all their posterity is "wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body": Dr. Beecher thinks that "*only* the will" is "perverted," and thrown out of equipoise. Dr. Wilson maintains, as do also "the standards," that men "are conceived and born in sin:" Dr. Beecher says that they become sinners "in early life,"—how early he does not exactly know, but not before they are capable of actual transgression. Here then, it would seem, are discrepancies still to be reconciled; so that there is some reason to fear that the famous "technic" will not be found to have virtue enough, notwithstanding what Dr. Beecher has said, "to carry us *all* out of the swamp together."

Nevertheless had we belonged to the Presbytery we should have voted with the majority for Dr. Beecher's acquittal, on the ground that many probably belong to the Presbyterian body, whose opinions are as diverse as his from "the standards," and who would not be able to confound or explain away the difference with half so much ability and success. Besides the day is past for imposing creeds except as articles of peace, to be subscribed and held "for substance of doctrine," leaving it for each individual to decide for himself what this "substance" is. Something also should probably be accorded to Dr. Beecher's apology, that he was induced to be more strenuous than usual in the inculcation of human ability at Boston, because with the Orthodox in this quarter, "the bottom of accountability," as he expresses it, had been knocked out by the incessant preaching of man's impotency. But we were a little surprised to find it testified by credible witnesses, that on a public occasion, and, as Dr. Wilson will have it, with "dissimulation for popular effect," Dr. Beecher declared the Confession of Faith and Catechism to be "the best compendium of the doctrine of the Bible he had seen," his own "select system" not excepted; and, furthermore, that they "contained the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." We were also more than surprised, we were grieved, to find him goaded, as it would seem, by the establishment of this fact into the utterance of such extravagances as the following.

"The longer I study the Confession of Faith and Catechism, and the more I compare them with the Scriptural proofs there cited, the more I admire that strength of intellect and that burning piety,

the evidence of which is resplendent throughout the work. And instead of wishing it remodeled, if I ever refuse to stand up against any such proposition, may my right hand forget its cunning and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth. I intend to introduce it, as a text-book, in the Theological Seminary, over which I preside. I consider it the most admirable system of comparative theology which the world ever saw. While it speaks the truth, it is so constructed as to give a back stroke at errors of all sorts; and I fully believe it furnishes a better foundation for a sound theological education, than all the other text-books which have ever been adopted."

However, it is but justice to say, that the charges of perfectionism, and of slander and hypocrisy, were not sustained against Dr. Beecher with much show of reasoning or evidence, and it would have been better for the accuser if he had omitted them altogether. A majority of the Presbytery, as has been intimated, and as was expected, voted to acquit Dr. Beecher; from which decison Dr. Wilson has appealed to the Synod, where, it is said, his party predominates. From the decision of the Synod the appeal will probably be carried up to the General Assembly, and there the matter will be settled; for Dr. Beecher denies and repudiates "all right of private judgment in opposition to the public decision of the whole church."

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

The Springfield Collection of Hymns for Sacred Worship. By William B. O. Peabody. Springfield: S. Bowles. Boston: L. C. Bowles. 1835. 12mo. — Devotional poetry, to satisfy us entirely, must not only satisfy our reason as to the doctrine and our taste as to the expression; but, in its choice of topics and manner of illustrating them, it must be neither too warm nor too cold for our devotional temperament, and every association awakened by it must also be agreeable. It is only, however, in a very few hymns that all these conditions can be said to be perfectly fulfilled, or fulfilled in equal degrees; and here another difficulty arises. One man cares but little about the doctrine of the hymn, if it is only sufficiently poetical and elevating in its language and suggestions; another conceives that gravity and propriety of thought and diction are the first requisites in public worship: the same person also, in different

states of feeling, will reject a hymn as frigid or fanatical at one time, which is a favorite with him at another. These causes do much more, as it seems to us, than the paucity of topics considered as enforcing perpetual repetition, and the sanctity of the matter considered as rejecting the ornaments of figurative diction, — the causes assigned by Dr. Johnson, — to make a large proportion of devotional poetry more or less unsatisfactory to the generality of readers, and to induce great discordancy of judgment in regard to it, in different persons, and even in the same person at different periods of his life. Where, however, as in the present instance, the compiler of the collection possesses in a remarkable degree all the requisites for the undertaking as a divine, a poet, and a Christian, we have the best possible presumptive evidence that the book will sufficiently meet and satisfy the spiritual wants and sympathies of a congregation.

"The Springfield Collection" is based on the writings of Watts and Doddridge; to which every compiler of hymns must still revert as the great store-houses of the sacred poetry of this description in the language. More pieces are given from Doddridge than in any other of the recent collections which have come under our notice, an improvement perhaps on the whole, but it may be doubted whether the compiler has not carried his partiality in this respect a little too far. Though he has made no attempt, as he says in the Preface, to give the attraction of novelty to his work, since the best hymns are necessarily the most familiar, a due proportion of those of a more modern date are introduced, not one of which strikes us unfavorably. Mr. Greenwood was the first, we believe, among Unitarian compilers to borrow largely from the Methodist collections, and his example has been followed by Mr. Peabody, to which circumstances we are indebted for several of the most plaintive and touching hymns in the volume.

What chiefly distinguishes this collection is the attempt, avowed by the compiler, to fit the hymns to the purposes of psalmody in churches, by abridging them, and altering the arrangement and phraseology, when it was thought necessary either for the convenience of the singers, or for musical expression. This plan has led him to take greater liberties than Mr. Greenwood and some others with the old hymns, and exposed the book in consequence to criticism; not always, perhaps, without reason, as some of the changes seem uncalled for, and have the effect of impairing the life and force of the original as well as disturbing long-cherished associations. On the other hand, it is but justice to say, that all modern compilers have asserted and exercised this right of making abridgments and alterations to a greater or less degree; that when collections have been made by eminent singers or teachers of music, — Dr. Willard or Mr. Mason, for example, — they have

always proceeded on the same principle with Mr. Peabody, and have commonly carried it much further than he has done; that a large majority of the changes made by the latter will probably be accounted by most persons as valuable and important emendations in themselves; and that this opinion is likely to be almost universal, when it is borne in mind that his object was to provide, not a book of devotional poetry to be read, but hymns to be sung.

An addition of about fifty hymns has been made to the collection as it originally stood, making the whole number to be five hundred and fifty-six. It has been adopted already in three societies; and, as its claims are examined and understood, it will, we doubt not, obtain and hold a high rank among the other excellent collections now before the public.

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1. *A Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language; with Pronouncing Vocabularies of Classical, Scripture, and Modern Geographical Names.* By J. E. Worcester. Carefully revised and enlarged. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1835. 12mo. pp. 424. — 2. *An Elementary Dictionary for Common Schools; with Pronouncing Vocabularies of Classical, Scripture, and Modern Geographical Names.* By J. E. Worcester. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1835. 12mo. pp. 324. — The public is under obligations to Mr. Worcester for the singleness of purpose and unwearied assiduity, with which he has devoted himself for so many years to lexicographical researches. We have the fruit of his labors in the publication of a series of some of the best and most indispensable manuals for the study, for the parlour, and for common schools, which have appeared in the language. His edition of "Johnson's Dictionary, as improved by Todd, and abridged by Chalmers, with Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary combined," and his abridgment and Dr. Webster's "American Dictionary of the English Language," are well known.

The first of the works mentioned at the head of this notice has been said on high authority to be "the best parlour dictionary in the world"; a distinction to which we think it may fairly aspire, as containing, in addition to a pretty full vocabulary of the common words in the language, many of the technical terms used in the various arts and sciences, and a more copious list, than any other English Dictionary, of such words and phrases from foreign languages as are often found in English books. Appended to it, are pronouncing vocabularies of Classical and Scripture proper names; and in the present edition, for the first time, the work has also been enriched still further by a similar vocabulary of Modern Geographical names. Hardly a question can arise, therefore, with a general reader, respecting the meaning, orthography, or pronun-

ciation of a strange word, which this manual will not help him to settle, though he might look in vain for a solution of the difficulty to much larger compilations. Some may think Mr. Worcester's candor excessive in taking the trouble, in cases of doubtful or disputed pronunciation, to give the several modes adopted by all the eminent English orthoepists with their names annexed. It may be a satisfaction, however, to know, that a man can hardly pronounce so badly as not to be able to adduce good authority for it. Thus, he may say *kou'-kum-ber* with Sheridan, Walker, Perry, Fulton, Kenrick, and Scott; or *ku'-kum-ber* with Enfield, Jameson and Webster; or *kŭk'-um-ber* with Jones. Again he may say *lif-ten'-ant* with Sheridan and Enfield; or *liv-ten'-ant* with Perry and Jones; or *lev-ten'-ant* with Walker; or *lu-ten'-ant* with Jameson and Webster. We may add that the mechanical execution of the "Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary" is in every respect satisfactory; but this is more than we can say of the "Elementary Dictionary for Common Schools." The paper used in the latter is not worthy of it, whether regard be had to its complexion or thickness; and the page, in consequence, has a blurred and confused look. Otherwise it seems to be every thing that could be expected or desired in the same compass.

Memoirs of a New England Village Choir; with Occasional Reflections. By a Member. Second Edition. Boston: B. H. Green. 1834. 16mo. pp. 152.—No reader of ours, who was fortunate enough to meet with this modest little volume in the day of its first edition, will be either sorry or surprised to hear of its passing to a second. We might have mentioned the circumstance before, but there are many things better done late than never, and we count this among them. We avail ourselves of the occasion, not so much for any other purpose, as to demand of the "Member," most respectfully, what has become of the rest of the series, which was to be. Where, especially, is the "History of a New England Singing-School?" We hope, not forgotten; nor lost in increasing business. New England readers will always be glad to hear from the author of the "Village Choir."

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

No. LXXI.

THIRD SERIES — No. II.

NOVEMBER, 1835.

Art. I. — *Review of the Argument in Support of Natural Religion. A Dudleian Lecture, delivered in the Chapel of the University in Cambridge, May 13th, 1835.* By John Brazer.*

The subject of this Lecture, as stated in the words of its Founder, is as follows: — "The proving, explaining, and proper use and improvement of the principles of Natural Religion, as it is commonly called and understood by divines and learned men."

It is sufficiently obvious, that it is wholly beyond the limits and appropriate uses of this occasion to attempt any thing approaching to a literal fulfilment of these requisitions. They involve inquiries and discussions of vast extent, of great intricacy, and of unspeakable importance. I have been, therefore, greatly embarrassed in ascertaining in what way the claims of the duty before me may be best met. I would not willingly occupy the hour in giving, what, from the nature of the case, must be a meagre abstract of the labors of others, and what may be far more profitably sought in the original works; and

[* We are happy in being permitted to lay before our readers a Discourse going so fully into a discussion of the nature of the argument, on which a conviction of the truths of Natural Religion must rest. To give effect with thinking minds to works recently published, which, like the Bridgewater Treatises, aim for the most part merely to *illustrate* this argument, it is necessary that the philosophy of the argument itself should be understood. — Ed.]

it must be a hopeless effort to suggest a course of remark, which has any just claims to originality, on a theme so familiar and worn as this. The science, moreover, is remarkable for the simplicity of its principles, while its topics of illustration are as vast and various as the works of God. But to state these principles merely in their naked, logical form, would be little interesting to that part of the audience for whose benefit this lecture was primarily intended; and to fill up the time with mere illustrations of these principles, however interesting they might be, would hardly comport with the dignity of the occasion and place. And there is another circumstance, of which it is proper to forewarn you. The elements of the science lie among the most familiar truths, which we receive and act upon, in every conscious moment of our lives. But, as they have been denied or questioned by the impugners of the science, it is necessary for its advocate to place himself in the undesirable position of appearing to state, with some elaborateness and emphasis, certain facts, which, it should seem, no man of sane mind could for a moment question.

Feeling, then, the full pressure of these difficulties, and with no very sanguine hope of avoiding them, I address myself to the duty before me. It will be my general object to present to you such a view of the subject, as will serve to show the place it occupies, or rather which it ought to occupy at the present day, among the serious inquiries of serious minds. And in furtherance of this end, I shall first attempt to speak of the *kind of reasoning*, by which the great truths of Natural Theology are ascertained; and then *apply* this kind of reasoning to the establishment of some of the leading truths or principles of the science.

I. And, first, I make a distinct topic of the *kind of reasoning*, by which the great truths of Natural Religion are ascertained; because it is precisely here, that the science has suffered, and suffered, too, perhaps equally at the hands of its enemies and of its friends. A kind of reasoning has been resorted to, which will be found on strict examination, I apprehend, either to be unsound in itself, or else to be inapplicable to the subject, and, on both accounts, to be utterly unsatisfactory. I refer to the *abstract* arguments in proof of the truths of Natural Theology, or to reasonings called *à priori*, or, in other words, those which proceed on certain metaphysical propositions, which are assumed as axioms.

I regret that only some brief hints can now be offered on this part of the subject, since the argument requires that it should be carefully elaborated. If I do not err, however, these *hints* will be found to be *results*, that will commend themselves to the mind after the strictest examination.

1. And my first remark is, that these abstract arguments are objectionable, in reference to the subject before us, *because they virtually assume the point to be proved.* Thus, for instance, one of the axioms, which has been taken for granted in proving that the universe must have had an author is, that "every Effect must have a Cause." This is undoubtedly true; — but it will avail little with those who deny that the universe is an effect, as did, among others, the somewhat notorious author of the "Academical Questions." Again; it is assumed as an axiom, that whatever "begins to exist must have had a Cause of its existence." This, of course, will be admitted by most persons; but it will have no pertinency with those who assert that the universe is eternal, and the Creative Power, whatever it be, only plastic, as did the Epicurean philosophers of antiquity, and their followers, under different names, in modern times. Again; it is maintained with perfect justness, that every Contrivance must have had a Contriver; but this is wholly irrelevant in an argument with him who denies that there is any proof of Contrivance, or Design, any further than the particular instance of it in question is concerned, as did Mr. Hume. And again, it is a generally admitted axiom, that "nothing can be a cause of its own existence;" but it will conclude little against him who asserts that the world is an exception to this general rule, — it being self-existent, as Spinoza maintained. The celebrated argument of Locke, which you will find in his "Essay," will be found, I am afraid, to be liable to the same remark. I may not stop to quote it at length. Suffice it to say, that it seems to lie open to the objection of taking for granted certain principles of *causation*, of which we know nothing. It is difficult, indeed, for one to perceive, how that which thinks should proceed from that which does not think, as he asserts. But it is not more difficult, perhaps, than it is to perceive how that which does *not* think should proceed from that which *does*. And the far-famed argument of Dr. Clarke against an infinite series of causes, for which he claimed the cogency of mathematical proof, seems to revolve in a like vicious circle. Closely examined it appears to amount to this.

—There can be no existence without a cause; therefore there *must have been* an existence without a cause; since the *first cause*, into which he resolves the alleged infinite series of causes, must be self-existent, that is, *without a cause*. By argument, then, derived from *abstract causation*, the atheist can never be confuted; for his answer is always ready at hand, that, if the *Deity* can exist uncaused, the *universe* may. Besides all this, of *Causation*, considered as an efficient agent, we know nothing, as I have already observed. Our whole *knowledge*, in this respect, is limited to the *succession* of phenomena.

Such is the inherent defect of all argumentation *à priori*, as it is called, for the great primal truth of Natural Theology, the existence of a God. It involves, so far as it proceeds on purely abstract or metaphysical principles, what the logicians call, a circular sophism. It will be found, on close analysis, to proceed on some assumption of the truth contended for.

2. In the next place, this abstract or metaphysical argument, or reasoning *à priori*, is totally *inapplicable to the subject in question*. By its very nature it is confined solely to the necessary and immutable relations which subsist among our notions or ideas. It is wholly independent of all facts, and cannot be applied to the authentication of any fact. It is founded on an assumed axiom, or on an hypothesis, or definition, and has no reference whatsoever to questions of *real existence*. All that can be demonstrated of any mathematical figure or quantity, or of any abstract relation, would be equally true, though this figure or quantity or abstract relation, whatever it may be, never had, nor ever shall have, a prototype in the world. It is obvious, then, that reasoning of this kind on any question which involves a *fact*, or a subject of *real existence*, is out of place. But the question whether or not Deity exists, *is* a question of fact. It is not a necessary or intuitive truth. It cannot be *demonstrated*, using the term here in its strict meaning, that God must be; and it cannot be *demonstrated*, that the contrary supposition involves an absurdity; which are the marks of necessary or metaphysical truth.* It is equally

* See this topic admirably treated by Dr. Crombie, (Natural Theology, or Essay, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1829,) to whom, together with some of the leading English Reviews of the work, I cheerfully acknowl-

impossible to prove or disprove the existence of Deity by this species of evidence. It is a fact, as I hope to show, which is sustained by the highest possible *moral* evidence, — evidence which no sound and unbiased mind can resist; but it is not to be determined by metaphysical proof; and for the simple reason, that it is a question, which, from its very nature, *does not admit of this species of evidence.* This metaphysical or abstract mode of reasoning, then, has no more connexion with the truths of Natural Theology, (which, be it repeated, are facts, or questions of actual existence,) than the mystical numbers of Pythagoras have with the science of arithmetic; or than the laws of judicial astrology have with the true theory of the solar system; or than the syllogistic modes of reasoning have with the interpretation of the laws of the material universe; or than the rules for constructing logarithmic tables have with a theory of taste.

3. I observe, in the third place, that this mode of reasoning *à priori*, applied to the science of Natural Theology, is *unsatisfactory.* It is not, indeed, strange that this should be the case, if, as I have attempted to show, it covertly *takes for granted* the thing to be proved; and amounts, when examined, to little more than a mere verbal logic; and is, moreover, wholly *inapplicable*, and out of place, in this inquiry. It may

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edge my obligations in this part of the Lecture. See also the remarks of Dr. Thomas Brown, (Lecture XCII.,) where the same or similar views are presented, and the reasoning here adverted to is considered as "relics of the verbal logic of the Schools." And Dugald Stewart, after saying that "the argument *à priori* has been enforced with singular ingenuity by Dr. Clarke," ventures, in his cautious manner, to add; — "Without calling in question the solidity of Clarke's demonstration, we may be allowed to say that the argument *à posteriori* is more level to the comprehension of ordinary men, and satisfactory to the philosopher himself." (Outlines of Moral Philosophy, 8vo. p. 174. Edin. 1818.) Bishop Berkeley, too, virtually takes the same ground, by leaving the objection against this application of metaphysical arguments, as urged by the Skeptic Alciphron, unanswered; and by giving him, moreover, in the person of Euphranor, that proof of "fact," which he demanded. All this part of the Dialogue is a beautiful specimen of the Socratic mode of argumentation. The objector is led, by a series of necessary admissions, to acknowledge that we have the same or greater proof of the being of a God, than we have of the existence of the person with whom we are conversing face to face. (Minute Philosopher, Dial. IV.) And, indeed, all reasonings of this kind, applied to the great *facts* of Natural Theology, have been, not unaptly, compared to the application of a lamp to a sun-dial, in the night time, to ascertain the hour.

well be doubted if any man's faith in the truths in question was ever established by this species of reasoning. The remark which has been applied to the system of Berkeley, in which, as you know, he questions the actual existence of the material universe, seems peculiarly appropriate to this kind of reasoning, even in its most effective form, namely, that, admitting the premises, it is equally impossible to *prove* it to be false, or *believe* it to be true. Dr. Clarke, before alluded to, the most distinguished of its advocates, confessed to a friend,* that any worthless weed in his garden contained better arguments for the being and attributes of God, than all his metaphysics; and that he resorted to it merely that he might meet the atheistic philosophers on their own ground. But with deference it may be suggested, whether it would not have been preferable to show these skeptics, that, in this their favorite mode of impugning the truths of Natural Theology, they *had no ground whatever to stand upon.* Dr. Reid, after quoting this distinguished author's argument respecting space and time, which was probably suggested to him by a passage in the Principia of Newton, observes; — "These are the speculations of men of superior genius; but whether they be as solid as they are sublime, or whether they be the wanderings of imagination in a region beyond the limits of human understanding, I am unable to determine." I suppose that most accurate thinkers will be of the same opinion as Dr. Reid on this subject.

4. My last objection to reasonings *à priori* on the subject before us is, that they not only seem, for the reasons stated, to be useless, but, it is apprehended, that they are worse than useless. They not only do nothing to enforce conviction, but serve, on the whole, and in the ultimate result, to perplex, bewilder, confuse, and to prevent the inquirer from appreciating the full force of those arguments by which the science is sustained. The inference will naturally be, that a subject, which requires such difficult and shadowy processes of proof for its support, must be, in itself, so exceedingly abstract and recondite, as to baffle ordinary powers of comprehension. And if, as has, I think, been shown, this course of reasoning is attended with the further disadvantage, that conclusions, true in themselves, are founded on false premises, it is

* Mr. Whiston. See Whiston's Memoirs.

hardly to be avoided, that, when this fallacy is detected, the error of the process should be visited upon the conclusion. Thus it may happen that principles, entirely true and inexpressibly important, may suffer from the misdirected ingenuity of their advocates. The great truths of Natural Theology, though not intuitively certain, are yet only removed, by a single step, from what is so; and this, moreover, is a step so short, and easily taken, that a plain man, who deals honestly with himself, and "*carries*," as Locke says, "*himself about him*," can no more doubt of these truths than of his own existence. But if he attempt to make this process clearer, or his convictions stronger, by a series of abstract or metaphysical argumentation, or insist upon having a reason when a reason has been given, he will only involve himself in a jargon of merely wordy logic. And thus, in "endless mazes lost," he will be in great danger of loosing his hold on the only true foundations of his belief, and taking, in the often quoted lines of the Dunciad,

> "the high *priori* road,
> Will reason downward till he doubts of God."

I here dismiss this part of the subject. Dry and uninviting, as, I am aware, it is, it is nevertheless indispensable that it should be rightly understood. The very first object of the student in Natural Theology, as in every other subject of liberal inquiry, should be, to fix clearly in his mind the precise nature of that evidence and that mode of reasoning, of which the subject matter admits. And nothing, in respect to Natural Theology, so distinctly and favorably marks the progress of modern inquiry, as the labors of its advocates on this point. To these, at the imminent risk of appearing obscure and uninteresting, I have thus summarily adverted. Our path, it may now be hoped, leads onward to more smiling fields of research.

Leaving, then, for the reasons assigned, the metaphysical or *à priori* argument entirely out of view, I now proceed to point out the nature of that reasoning, by which the leading truths of Natural Theology are to be sustained.

And this, as I apprehend, is the *Inductive* mode of reasoning. The truths to be ascertained are, as I have said, *facts*, not abstract relations, not conclusions deduced from axioms, or definitions, or arbitrarily assumed premises of any kind; but *facts*, *substantive facts*, which, of course, are to be

established by the same process of reasoning, by which the facts of natural philosophy or any other facts are established. That a being, whom we call God, or Deity, exists, is a proposition to be proved, in the same way as the proposition that a certain law of relative forces reigns among the orbs of the planetary system; — namely, by that great organ or instrument of inquiry, called the *inductive process* of reasoning; whose principles were first fully developed by Lord Bacon, and which, carried into effect by Newton and succeeding inquirers, has established all we know of those *generalized facts*, which are denominated the *laws* of nature.

But before applying this mode of reasoning to the subject before us, it is necessary to advert, for a moment, to its essential principles; since these, it should seem, have been neither clearly understood, nor accurately applied, by writers eminently philosophical in other respects. The inductive process of reasoning, as I understand it, consists of two parts or divisions, entirely distinct from each other, though often confounded together, both of which are necessary to the result. The one is the *investigation* of similar or analogous phenomena; and the other is an inference from them of a general fact or principle, which, being thus ascertained, may be applied in all analogous cases. It rests ultimately on the *perception of similitude*. It is capable, under all circumstances, like every other sound process of reasoning, of being expressed in a syllogistic form, though this is not at all necessary to its effective use. Thus, to quote a familiar example, from the observation of certain analogous facts in respect to falling bodies, near the earth's surface, Newton ascertained the law or general fact, according to which the movements of the solar system are governed. It is thus we proceed from what is known to what is unknown; and, where the *investigation* of facts is sufficiently ample and sufficiently accurate, the *deduction* or *inference* from them is irresistible.

This, then, is the process of inquiry called induction. And now it is to be particularly observed that this mode of reasoning is as applicable to moral subjects, to facts relating to the moral and intellectual nature of man, and to the manner and issues of human conduct, as to material things.* Thus, for

* This position is sufficiently obvious. But it is gratifying to find it, while this Lecture is passing to the press, distinctly taken by Lord

example, it is a fact, — that in all the aspects and circumstances of *human agency*, wherever we see examples of order, beauty, harmony, and concurrence of means to ends, we infer that intelligence is the producing cause. This, I say, is a fact, — not a supposition, not a theory, — but an outright, obvious fact, — a fact exemplified in all our experience, and true in all circumstances. Here, then, the process of Induction, so far as it depends upon the *investigation* of similar or analogous phenomena, is as ample and perfect as possible. Now, if it can be shown, that in the works of nature, or in the material universe around us, order, beauty, harmony, and concurrence of means to ends prevail, which are precisely similar to those, which, in human concerns, are uniformly connected with mind or intelligence, as their producing cause; — then the inference is irresistible that these, in like manner, must be referred to mind or intelligence as *their* producing cause.*

II. And here a range of illustration opens upon us, that may strictly be called infinite. If I deemed it necessary to the argument to enter upon it, I should not know where to begin; and if I had the powers of the highest archangel who "bends and burns" before the throne of the Eternal, I should not know where to stop. But this illustration cannot be necessary, and, in an especial manner, it cannot be necessary to those whom I address. It is to be found in every thing that we behold, and it opens more and more upon the mind in pre-

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Brougham, in his recent "Discourse" on Natural Theology, originally intended, in connexion with illustrations by Sir Charles Bell, to be inserted in a new and cheap edition of Paley's work on this subject. "It follows," says he, "that the constitution and functions of the mind are as much the subjects of inductive reasoning and investigation as the structure and actions of matter." — p. 40, Am. Edit. 12mo. Again, "This science (Natural Theology) is strictly a branch of Inductive philosophy, formed and supported by the same kind of reasoning upon which the Physical and Psychological sciences are founded." — p. 17. And speaking of the *à priori* argument, the same author observes, that not only are the truths in question not necessary truths, but that the *à priori* argument itself, as applied to these truths, when analyzed, will be found to be nothing more than an imperfect process of *induction*, that is, an induction from a too limited number of facts. — Section IV.

* "When the philosophy of causes, and the metaphysical reasoning of the schools, shall be completely banished from Theology, as they have already been from physical inquiry, the doctrine of Theism will be consistently denied by those only who reject the 'Principia' of Newton." — *Quarterly Review*, above referred to.

cise proportion as its capacity of accurate observation is increased. It is, happily, characteristic of the modern literature on this subject, that it dwells principally on these alleged tokens of intelligence in the universe;* and the discoveries of modern science have made these researches peculiarly rich and attractive. To these I refer you, with the single remark, that, if you can find undoubted examples of order, beauty, harmony, and concurrence of means to ends in the material universe, then it follows, that the atheist is reduced to the desperate alternative, either of denying that those appearances of order, beauty, harmony, and concurrence of means to ends, which are found in the works of men's hands are proofs of an intelligence adequate to the effect; or of admitting that similar appearances, which are found in the great scheme of the material universe, are proofs of an intelligence adequate to the effect. And if, further, order, beauty, harmony, and the concurrence of means to ends, in the material world, be thus a proof of intelligence, so is the *character*, that prevails throughout these phenomena, a proof of the character of their author; for so we necessarily conclude in regard to the same results in human affairs. If they exhibit power, their author is powerful. If they exhibit wisdom, their author is wise. If they exhibit goodness, their author is good. And if they exhibit all these in an infinite, that is, in an indefinite degree, their author is infinite in power, in wisdom, and in goodness, — that is, He is God.

It will be observed that in presenting to you this argument, I have made no use of the common terms *plan* and *planner*, *contrivance* and *contriver*, *design* and *designer*. And I have advisedly and studiously done this, that I might avoid that precise objection which the atheists of modern times, and particularly Mr. Hume, have strenuously urged. Unlike the ancient skeptics, we admit, say they, that contrivance implies a

* There is a wide difference between the courses pursued by the ancient and modern skeptics on this subject. The former granted that design might be inferred from its effects, but denied that there were any appearances of design in the universe. The latter admit that design may be thus inferred from effects, but deny that there is any ground for making this inference of design so as to involve the existence of an Infinite Designer. This change has, obviously, been rendered necessary by the progress of modern investigations in Natural Science.

contriver, design a designer; but we deny that there *is* contrivance, that there *is* design, at least to the degree claimed. They thus resolve the argument of such beautiful books as the "Natural Theology" of Paley, and the "Bridgewater Treatises" of Whewell and Sir Charles Bell, and all others of a similar character, into a circular sophism, or a taking for granted the thing to be proved. Now, how is this objection of theirs to be met? It will signify nothing to assert what is thus denied, however indisputable it may seem to us. Of Efficient Causes, or a necessary connexion between successive events, or of Causation, considered as an agent, we know nothing, as these objectors, and many other more accurate thinkers than they, truly assert. But it does not follow from this, that we have no sufficient evidence that order, beauty, harmony, and the concurrence of means to ends, must proceed from intelligence and design. On the contrary, we have the most decisive evidence possible of this fact, namely, *in all our own direct and immediate experience and observation in human affairs.* And here it is we obtain the idea and establish the principle of design and contrivance, and that, too, by the amplest and most exact investigation and comparison of phenomena possible. And having thus obtained it, we apply it, as I have shown, by an unquestionable and certain process of inductive reasoning to the phenomena of creation. And if it be still asked, *why* it is that we ascribe this order, beauty, harmony, and concurrence of means to ends, to intelligence, to design; I answer, — that it is an *ultimate fact in our natures.* We are so constituted that we *cannot help doing so,* without disavowing and denying all our rational powers, and therefore, and thereby, putting ourselves out of the question on this subject. And if any one chooses thus to *stultify* himself that he may become a champion of atheism, this must, if he insist upon it, be granted to him; but he is then, obviously, no longer entitled to be heard, as a rational being, by rational men, on a question like this.

The existence of Deity, again, and the leading truths of Natural Theology, may be, and have repeatedly been, shown by the inductive mode of reasoning, applied in a different manner. It is to a single, though somewhat extended, illustration I shall now confine myself, and shall reduce it to as narrow limits as possible. I address myself to it in this way.

Constant and multiplied experience assures us, that in all sentient creatures, beneath the rank of man, every organ has

its appropriate function; every function its appropriate object; every instinct its appropriate use, and sphere of exercise. I need not dwell on so plain a fact as this. It is well known as one of the great triumphs of modern science, in the department of comparative anatomy, that, from almost any single bone, a skilled naturalist will determine, without the possibility of mistake, whether the animal, of which it originally made a part, belonged to the earth, or air, or water; whether it fed on fruits, or flesh, or both; and what were its particular configuration, habits, and modes of life. Indeed, it is well known that in this manner, the figure of very numerous animals, that were extinct ages before the present crust of our planet was formed, have been reconstructed; and that thus we are furnished with an authentic history of the forms which animal life has taken, from its first elementary movements in the lowest Radiated species, (the Coralline animals, for example, — which are found deep down among the foundations of the present earth,) upwards through its continually more and more elaborated forms, to its hitherto most perfect manifestations in the human race. But how is this effected? By what mode of investigation is it, that these facts are indubitably established? What is the process of reasoning, by which all inquirers, qualified to judge, are satisfied of the truth of these facts? It is by that same process of inductive reasoning to which I have already adverted. It is a fact, ascertained from a satisfactory number of examples, that animals of a certain structure have peculiar habits; that these habits, in all cases, imply certain instincts; and that these instincts are invariably accompanied with their appropriate organs, and placed in their appropriate spheres of gratification? But can we suppose that this correspondence between the nature and condition of the lower animals is *confined* to them? Are they alone privileged in this? Is it with respect to them alone, that we are authorized to infer, that there must be an adaptation between the inherent principles of their constitution and the circumstances in which they are placed? Is man, for example, of all created beings, the only one, whose inherent and essential capacities are to remain undeveloped, his necessary desires unprovided for, the absolute claims of his structure unsupplied? Are the instincts of his higher nature the only ones which are to be disappointed and baffled? Is all that is especially characteristic of man, as man, to be

foiled in its obvious end and aim? This will appear as irreconcilable with the true spirit of philosophizing, as it is abhorrent to all the natural sentiments of our hearts. On the contrary, we are *obliged*, and that, too, by the very constitution of our natures, to infer, in respect to man, as in reference to all other beings known to us, that all his powers, all his capacities, all the inherent principles of his being, are indicative of his true condition and destiny. And if there be, therefore, any of these, which can find no adequate objects *here*, but demand, so to speak, another and a higher sphere of action, we are obliged to conclude, by every principle of sound philosophy, that there *is* such a sphere of action, where these claims shall be met and answered.

What, then, is the true condition of man in this respect? In the answer to this inquiry will be seen the application of this course of argument to the subject before us.

And here I take distinctly the position, that man *is essentially a religious being*.* I do not mean by this, merely that he is made capable of directing his thoughts, at will, to religious subjects; or of yielding, occasionally, to religious impressions; or of performing, at certain times, specific devotional acts; but that a recognition of God, as the august author of his being; a conviction of dependence and reliance upon him, as the Sovereign Dispenser of his lot; a feeling of accountableness to Him as a moral agent; and a sense of his relations to another and higher state of existence; — all these make a *necessary*, an *indestructible*, nay, a *preëminent part of his very nature*. It is this meaning I wish to convey, when I advance the proposition that man is essentially a religious being.

1. This is asserted, in the first place, on the ground, that the idea of a Supreme Intelligence, Maker and Ruler of the Universe, upon whom we and all things depend, is *universal*; and, therefore, is suggested by, and makes a part of, the very constitution of man. It is possible, and not wholly improbable,

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* "Man may rather be defined a religious than a rational character, in regard that in other creatures there may be something of reason, but there is nothing of religion." — *Harrington*. See also "The true Plan of a Living Temple, or Man considered in his proper Relation to the ordinary Occupations of Life," by the author of the "Morning and Evening Sacrifice," &c., where the position of the text is fully sustained.

that there are some exceptions to this remark. There may be persons who have succeeded in the perilous attempt of arguing themselves out of this belief. And there may be human beings whose mental and moral natures are so little developed, or so entirely imbruted, or so mystified by their own perverse speculations, as to be, in a great measure, without the idea of that Being, whom we denominate God. But, notwithstanding these exceptions, which are of no moment in the view I now wish to present of this subject, it may be safely asserted that this idea of God *universally* prevails. Wherever man is, there is this thought, this deep-seated conviction. And, as all minds contain it, so all languages express it. There is an answering term to our word GOD, wherever men communicate with one another in intelligible signs and sounds. And this is proof enough, that it naturally and necessarily suggests itself to human minds. We are so constituted, that we cannot help inferring, that whatever exists implies a producing cause; and we are placed in a world, where we cannot help seeing a wondrous fabric of things around us, which we are sure could not have made itself, and a wonderful adaptation of means to ends in all that we behold, which we know could not have thus arranged themselves. Thus it is

> "The heavens declare the glory of God!
> * * * *
> They have no speech, nor language,
> And their voice is not heard;
> Yet their sound goeth forth to all the earth,
> And their words to the end of the world."

The ideas, moreover, of the *illimitable*, both in space and time, of the *perfect*, the *absolute*, are essential states of human thought, and are, indeed, all implied in the ideas of what is *limited*, *imperfect*, and *dependent*.* It requires no learning,

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* See this well stated by Cousin, "Lectures on Locke." The thought, however, is by no means original with him. It is laid down with great distinctness by Dr. Cudworth, (Int. Syst. Book V. c. 5.); and is illustrated by him, in a very apt quotation from Boëthius, (De Consolat. Phil. Lib. III.): "Omne, quod imperfectum esse dicitur, id diminutione perfecti imperfectum esse perhibetur. Quo fit, ut si in quolibet genere imperfectum quid esse videatur, in eo perfectum quoque aliquid esse, necesse fit. Etenim, sublatâ perfectione, unde illud, quod imperfectum perhibetur, extiterit, ne fingi quidem potest." "Whatsoever is said to be imperfect, is accounted such by the diminution of that which is

and almost no reflection, to come to these results. And hence it is, as I have said, that wherever man is, there is the idea of God. It is with him, in whatsoever he does, or is, or thinks, or feels, or hopes, or fears. As a general law of his being, he can no more divest himself of it, than he can divest himself of his own mind. It belongs, moreover, necessarily to all men, in all places, in all the different aspects of the human character, and in all relations and circumstances. Here then we find the seminal principle of religion, — the idea and belief of a God, laid in the very nature of man. There it is, and there it must be, while man remains man. Were we to proceed no further, then, in this inquiry, it is to be regarded, as an incontrovertible truth, that our natures are indelibly stamped with that grand "central thought" of all religion, — *the idea of a* GOD.*

2. I next observe that man is constituted a religious being, by that principle of his nature, called *Conscience*, by which he approves, or disapproves, of human actions as right or wrong. Now if it can be shown, first, that this principle is an inherent part of man's nature; and, secondly, that it is, in itself, a strictly religious principle; it will follow, as a necessary consequence, that *man is made, by his conscience*, a religious being.

First, then, we are so constituted that we cannot help distinguishing some actions as right, and some actions as wrong. This perception of differences in conduct is universal. It is one of the earliest judgments which are exhibited in the minds of children; and is, as many of us may have observed, in

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perfect; from whence it comes to pass, that if, in any kind, any thing appear imperfect, there must of necessity be something also, in that kind, perfect. For perfection being once taken away, it could not be imagined, from whence that which is accounted imperfect should have proceeded."

* I intended to insert here a distinct topic, on the Universality of human belief in a Superintending Providence; and also one on the Universal Prevalence of Prayer among men, including, of course, a belief that prayer will be heard and answered, or, in other words, a belief in the Efficacy of Prayer. But I plainly foresaw that the time assigned to the Lecture would not permit me to discuss these points. I refer any who may wish to see these topics more ably treated, on the whole, than in any professed theological work within my knowledge, to a novel, entitled "*Tremaine*," ascribed to the Hon. Mr. Ward, a member of the British Parliament, author of "*De Vere*," and other works of fiction.

proportion to their knowledge and capacity, singularly just and unerring. In the midst of our confused, perverse, and often willingly blinded views of right and wrong, we may frequently have occasion to stand rebuked in the clear light of their fresh thoughts, and take counsel from their pure and single-minded decisions. This apprehension of right and wrong, moreover, is found in every class and condition of men, in all ages, and in all climes. All languages, as in respect to the idea of a God, contain terms which distinctly express it, and which will bear no other interpretation. We ourselves involuntarily recognise it, in all those moral judgments of conduct, which we pass, and cannot help passing, upon all we see, and all we hear, of the conduct of others. It manifests itself in that spontaneous homage we pay to one class of actions, and the irrepressible disgust and reprehension we visit on another, in reading the records of past times and men; and it is one great source of the interest we feel in the pictured scenes of the drama, of romance, and of poetry. It lies, moreover, at the very basis of all social order, and of all civil establishments; since, without the guiding light and restraining authority of conscience, it is plain, all written constitutions and compacts of government would prove unavailing; civil laws and regulations would want their highest, ultimate, and only efficient sanction; oaths would be as wind; * there could be no public sentiment friendly to public order; each and all would be left to pursue the course their own selfish passions and impulses might prompt; universal misrule and confusion must be the inevitable result, and the whole fabric of society be resolved into its primordial elements. This principle, also, is presupposed in all direct and specific revelation; since revelation does not *create* the faculty of deciding between right and wrong, but addresses itself to man as already possessed of this power. Conscience thus rests habitually in every bosom, like the mysterious power of the Urim and Thummim on the breastplate of the Jewish high priest; while revelation is that *added* light from God's dwelling-place in heaven, by which its hidden virtue is disclosed and manifested.† And now, I ask, is a

* "Pacts and covenants (into which some would resolve all civil power), without this obligation in conscience, are nothing but words and breath." Cudworth, Int. Syst. B. V. c. 5.

† What the Urim and Thummim were is very doubtful, and equally

principle thus universal, thus necessarily connected with the very condition of man in this world, to be accounted for on any other supposition than that it is an essential part of his being?

But, if further proof be wanting, interrogate your own consciousness, look into your own bosoms, and you cannot fail to find it. What passes there when you reflect upon your own conduct, and that, too, independently of your own wills and wishes. When you have performed any act of justice, kindness, beneficence, public spirit, or magnanimity, do you, can you, feel self-reproached and guilty? And, on the other hand, if you have neglected the claims of others, closed your hearts against the cry of distress, and are as conscious, as that you live, that self is the axis on which your whole conduct turns, do you, can you, feel a sentiment of self-approval? We all know, that this is not the fact, that it cannot be. And we all know, further, that these decisions of the monitor within are not *taught*, — they are not the effect of Education, but existed before teaching and education began. It is true this principle, by which we decide on the moral character of actions may be neglected, perverted, spurned, silenced, as any other native principle may be. It may be partially or wholly destroyed, as a man may cut off a limb or commit suicide. But, nevertheless, while he keeps his moral nature unimpaired, he can no more escape from his natural apprehensions of right and wrong, than he can escape from himself. That these apprehensions, in other words, that conscience is a *necessary* principle of our natures, must, then, I think, be admitted.

And further, (and this was the other point in reference to the question before us, to be proved,) I observe, that this principle is strictly a *religious* principle. And this appears from two other facts in relation to it, both of which are matters of consciousness. The first is, that Conscience not only passes upon human actions, as abstractly right or wrong; but, what is a necessary consequence of this, it passes also upon the agents, as good or evil doers. And this, moreover, it does with an authority, which no man, without doing violence to his nature, can resist. We all know that there is this authoritative tribunal in the breast, which, without being con-

so, how they were consulted. I have adopted, in the text, the notion of Josephus, Antiq. Lib. iii. cap. 8.

sulted, which, wholly independently of our wishes, approves or condemns us as worthy or unworthy. This is what the Apostle meant when he said, that "men are a law unto themselves." The other fact in regard to this principle, to which I referred, and which seals and completes its authority, as a religious principle, is, that it not only arraigns, and approves or condemns us, before its own tribunal, but it asserts one further prerogative, — it obliges us to look forward to another and higher tribunal, which will hereafter sanction and enforce all the decisions of its own. This enters into the very idea of those judgments of ourselves, which we call Conscience. It makes an inherent and necessary part of them. It cannot, even in thought, be separated from the consciousness of guilt and self-approval. And for all this I appeal again to the experience of every man, whose nature, as a man, has been even tolerably developed, and who has not palsied and imbruted it by a long course of obdurate sinfulness. Conscience, then, not only decides on the moral character of actions as right or wrong; not only approves or condemns us, as worthy or guilty, and, in consequence, as the objects of reward and punishment here; but *obliges* us to *look forward to a more searching and effectual decision hereafter.* Thus it is, that the voice of Conscience is a prophetic voice. It anticipates the award of that solemn sentence, which is hereafter to be passed upon all the "deeds done in the body, whether they be good, or whether they be bad." It is, as it has been said, a plain declaration from the Author of our minds, informing us how he will deal with us, and upon what the exercise of his goodness is suspended.* And it is this necessary reference to an unseen Witness and Judge of conduct, to the blessed hopes of future reward, to the awful requitals of future punishment, that completes the whole idea of Conscience, and endows it with a strictly religious authority.†

The whole moral history of man is a continual illustration of the views I have now presented of this subject. The sentiment of guiltiness, for example, — disguise it from others as we may, by a careless or cheerful outward bearing, look, and tones, — the sentiment of guiltiness, — disguise it from ourselves as

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* Price's Morals, p. 137, 2d edition.

† See on this whole topic Bishop Butler's Sermon, "Upon the Natural Supremacy of Conscience."

we may attempt to do, by engagements of business, amusement, or frivolity, — the sentiment of guiltiness, I say, is one of the most universal that pervades human bosoms, that is, where human bosoms are left to their own natural movements. Whence comes it? Where, but from that monitor within, which is continually "accusing or else excusing us"? What, again, is the resource of men under this sense of guiltiness? We see them everywhere seeking to make expiation and atonement for it, by *religious* acts or exercises. Why are altars built; incense burned; victims made to bleed; the smoke of sacrifices to ascend; long processions drawn out; privations and tortures self-inflicted; why, above all, the prayer for mercy, when all merely earthly retributions are over? Is not the answer plain? They are the expressions of the spirit's agony under a sense of guiltiness. They are the offerings which a wounded conscience prompts; and they declare, as in a voice of many thunders, that man is *made, by this very Conscience, a religious being.*

3. Man, in the next place, is constituted a religious being, by the *natural sentiments of his heart.* This theme is rich and various, and entirely in point; but I cannot stop to illustrate it any further than may be necessary to show its application to the subject under remark. I observe, then, that man is so formed and endowed, that he cannot help feeling those sentiments, which lead him directly to his God, and of which God is the ultimate and most proper object. Thus we are so constituted, that the sentiment called *Love* is awakened in our bosoms by the contemplation of moral goodness wheresoever found. Now, as the only idea we can form of God, is the sum and substance of all that is good in all things else, enlarged and perfected beyond all bounds, and centred in one infinitely great and glorious Being; — it is plain, that, in the same degree as we lift ourselves up to a just contemplation of the character of God, the love of God must be "shed abroad in our hearts." That this love does not take a more entire possession of them, is owing to our inattention, to our neglect of His character and claims, and especially to a sense of unworthiness, which dashes our conceptions of Him with guilt and fear. But that the human heart was made to love God, to delight itself in Him, to make Him its all in all, is just as clear as that the human heart is made to delight in moral goodness. In like manner, the kindred sentiment of

Religious Gratitude is natural to man. We are so made, that our hearts turn in thankfulness towards the author of any good done or intended for us; and shall they not melt within us at the thought of the rich, free, ceaseless, boundless, and, above all, the undeserved goodness of our God?

Thus, again, we are so constituted, that Wisdom, blended with high Moral Excellence, calls forth the sentiment denominated *Veneration*; — that the thought of Infinite Power, moving as a willing slave at the suggestions of Infinite Goodness, produces the sentiment we denominate *Awe*; — that what is Sacred and August in Character, viewed in connexion with our inferiority and comparative worthlessness, excites within us the sentiment denominated *Reverence*; — and shall not all these sentiments, with a united, full, and all-pervading influence, take possession of our hearts, when we think of Him, who is the highest, best, and worthiest object of them all? In a word, is it not plain, that all those elevated feelings, which peculiarly belong to us as men, and ally and identify our souls with every thing that is truly great and endearing in the universe, find in God, and in Him alone, from whom they spring, their proper end and aim? Do they not thus appear to be strictly devotional, and thus, in their turn and sphere, exhibit man to us *as a strictly religious being*?

4. I shall now ask your attention to only one more illustration of the argument before us. It is, that man is constituted a religious being by the *inherent wants and capacities of the soul.*

And I first observe, that the soul has *Aspirations*, which soar above all earthly good; which, passing the bounds of space and time, aim at the infinite, the perfect, the absolute, the eternal. It has native instincts, which cannot be destroyed, which cannot be repressed, which, refusing to be satisfied by things seen and present, reach forward to an unknown and an unimaginable good. These, too, are necessary and constituent parts of ourselves. They are inherent principles in all minds. They are everywhere found. They are everywhere expressed. They belong, as a birth-right, to the good. The bad, though they may pervert, cannot wholly stifle them. They arise, unbidden, at all times. They go with us into all places. They remain with us through all vicissitudes. No man can point to anything in the human mind, which is more clearly and distinctively a part of it, than those hopes and aspirations, for example, which reach forward to another state of being.

And, as they thus necessarily belong to us, so does every thing, in the state in which we are placed, serve to suggest and confirm them. We are reminded of them at every step. That dream of fleeting shadows which men call life; the obvious imperfection and incompleteness of this present scheme of things, viewed in itself alone; worthy aims defeated; the crushing weight of disappointment and disaster, to which we are every moment liable; the apparent inequalities of life, viewed in connexion with human desert; the prosperity of the half-good, or of the bad; the success of selfish pursuits; the temporary triumphs of high-handed and desperate villany; — all this serves to nourish and sustain these aspirations after a happiness not yet vouchsafed, a state of rest and peace not yet secured. Hence, too, the dissatisfaction that waits on any mere earthly enjoyment! Hence the weariness of what we fondly call pleasure! Hence the disappointment of what we name success! Hence the desolation of heart, which neither rank, nor wealth, nor fame, nor influence over others, nor all that this world can give, is able to cheer or to irradiate! Possess what we may, enjoy what we may, of these limited and perishable things, still, still there remains a void in the heart, a great, a mighty, a shoreless, a fathomless void, which nothing short of that blessed, though dimly revealed state of the soul, which we call heaven, — nothing, with solemn awe be it spoken, — nothing but GOD HIMSELF, can fill!

And, further, these instinctive hopes and aspirations of the soul are *indestructible*. They awake with the opening faculties of the mind; they go with us into all its subsequent changes; they connect themselves with all our desires, plans, and pursuits; they remain with us while a ray of consciousness remains; they are brightest in the dark hour of death; and they are our strongest support, when every thing that belongs to earth and time fails. In a word, they are rooted and intertwined among all the fibres of human hearts, and they cannot be eradicated, but by tearing asunder and annihilating human hearts. And is not this a plain declaration, on the part of Him who made us, that these hopes and aspirations are not without a divine significance; — that, as they are inherently and essentially a part of man's nature, so they, like the voice of conscience, are prophetical; and that, therefore, we are created and are intended for another and a higher state of being, where these hopes and these aspirations shall meet with their ample and entire fulfilment?

And what is thus asserted of the inherent wants of the soul, is also true of its inherent *Capacities*. This world is all too narrow for these. They demand higher objects, a wider range, and a fuller developement. The human mind, or intellect, for example, in all its various states and acts, still reaches onward and onward after further light. Every truth attained, so far from satisfying it, is regarded but as the embryo principle of truths yet undiscovered; and he who knows the most, is only thereby better convinced than others, of the extent and boundlessness of human ignorance. And if any could master the whole world of things known, his achievements, in this respect, so far from leading him to rest and peace, would prompt the idle sigh for other worlds of intellect to conquer. The thirst of the soul for knowledge is unquenchable. Nothing on earth can slake it. It pants after, and will be satisfied by, nothing less than the fountains of truth, yet unrevealed to mortal eyes, which spring up in eternal life.

The same is true of the *Affections* of our natures. These are all boundless in their scope and range. All that they grasp serves to remind man of what he possesses *not*, and their highest gratification ends in discontent. Thus it is that they comprise, within themselves, the principles of infinite growth and infinite expansion. Time cannot limit them, earth cannot confine them, death cannot destroy them. True friendship, pure love, parental tenderness, filial devotion, all the sincere, intimate, and deep affections of the human heart, are indestructible. They depend not for their vitality or endurance on the circumstances which first called them forth. They survive vicissitude; survive the absence of their objects; live on when these are dead; and follow them in longing hope of reunion, of a reunion indissoluble and eternal, beyond the line of time. And can affections, thus bearing the impress of immortality, thus instinct with the principles of everlasting life, find any worthy, any fitting scope or range within the limits of this present state? Nay, is not the very supposition fraught with wretchedness!

5. Finally, there is also our capacity of *Moral Progress*. This, like the rest, is endless, exhaustless, ever new, ever growing, never satisfied. Every moral attainment, to him who is true to the nature which God has given him, is but a "vantage ground" gained for a higher and nobler effort. Man, by his very constitution, is ever destined to press towards the "prize of his high

calling," and this is nothing else or less, than an ever-growing likeness to his God.

I have thus endeavoured to show that man is made *a religious being*; first, by that Relation which he cannot but feel to his Creator and Sovereign Ruler; — secondly, by that principle of Conscience, which sits enthroned, as God, within him, and whose voice is declarative of the decisions of a higher tribunal; — thirdly, by those Sentiments of Love, Gratitude, Reverence, and Awe, which reach forward and centre upon God as their most fitting and final object; — fourthly, by those Hopes and Aspirations, which not only can find nothing to meet or satisfy them in this present state, but are made, by the very emptiness and vanity of things here below, considered in themselves alone, to seek higher objects, a diviner range, and a brighter manifestation in a future world; — and, fifthly, by that Capacity of Moral Progress, which is a distinctive attribute of man, and which is obviously only in its earliest germ here.

And now I ask if there be any over-statements in this view of the subject? I ask, — if the idea of God, if a sense of moral accountability, are not natural to man, and do not enter into the very structure and habits of the soul? I ask, — whether there be any, in the happiest condition of an earthly existence, who do not feel, down in the depths of their spirits, a craving want, an irrepressible desire for a good not yet attained, and which, obviously, this life cannot give? I ask, — if all the faculties of their inward natures, — their capacity of knowledge; their capacity of feeling; their capacity of ever-growing virtue; can be satisfied with what this world has, or can supply? None, of any serious habits of thought, can hesitate in a reply to these questions. None, possessing any habits of thought and reflection, will venture to gainsay a tittle of these statements. They are all as familiar to us as household words.

And as man is thus essentially constituted a religious being, so, yet further, is his religious nature his peculiar, his *preëminent* distinction. This thought is extremely important, and important to my argument, but I have now no time to unfold or enforce it. Suffice it to say, that man is thus separated from all other creatures here below, and he is thus "crowned with glory and honor," in reference to all the other capacities of his own being. What were man without that

grand, that all-comprehending thought, the idea of a God? — What were man without the arbiter of conscience in his bosom? — a principle, which, as has been said, if it had power as it has authority, had it strength as it has right, would rule supreme over the moral world. What are the affections but "springs of woe," until they are purified of their earthliness, and find an object in God suited to their infinite growth and boundless expansion? What, in fine, are those wants, hopes, aspirations, and illimitable capacities of moral improvement, which connect the soul with another state of existence, but prophetical messages of the real destiny of man? Do not all these constitute his peculiar privilege, his great, his emphatical, his highest, his crowning distinction.

Now, if this be so, — and here we perceive the application of the argument before us, — if this be so, — and if, further, it be admitted, as it needs must, that through all the inferior orders of creation it is ascertained as a universal law, or general fact, that every organ, function, instinct, has assigned to it its appropriate sphere, element, and means of gratification; and if, yet further, as I have now shown at large, man is *essentially and distinctively a religious being*, with ideas, states of mind, moral wants, desires, and capacities, which are not met and answered here, — we are obliged to conclude, upon the soundest principles of the Inductive Reasoning, that he is destined to a sphere hereafter, where these essential principles of his nature shall be recognised and fully satisfied. This must be admitted, unless we are prepared to say, that this correspondence of sphere to organs and functions is limited to animal existence, and that, while every lower instinct is carefully, I had almost said, anxiously, provided for, and points out invariably the end and aim of the individual to which it belongs, — the instincts of the soul which fasten upon God, and reach after immortality, are implanted in vain, nay, worse than in vain, — implanted only, and that too by Him who placed them there, to mock and to deceive us.

I here bring this lecture to a close. While, for the reasons before stated, I feel obliged to consider the abstract, or *à priori* argument, however derived, or howsoever applied, as, on the whole, of little or no value in establishing the great truths or facts of Natural Theology; these are still susceptible of proof, which is as convincing as any evidence whatsoever; — of proof that cannot be gainsaid or resisted, without falsifying

all the conclusions of Inductive Philosophy, as applied to the phenomena of the physical universe; — of proof, upon which we do and must act, in every hour of our conscious existence.

The argument is capable of various applications, and the subject suggests some highly practical and useful trains of thought. But I dismiss it with a single remark, which I would leave, at parting, with entire distinctness on every mind, and especially I would commend it to the reflection of the younger part of my audience. It is, that religion, in the sense already explained, is not a rule or obligation arbitrarily superinduced upon the nature of man. It is not a mere external bond, which he is at liberty to assume or lay aside at will. It is not a contrivance of the wise to hold in leading-strings the simple. It is not an invention of the priests to secure for themselves an unhallowed influence. But it is a law, written upon our hearts, as by the finger of Almighty God. It was breathed into us with the breath of life. It is indissolubly interwoven with all the principles of our spiritual nature. It is identified with that inspiration, which at the first gave us understanding. It is as inherently and clearly a part of our very being, as the power of thinking, feeling, willing, and acting. It is no more to be separated from a human being, than that consciousness, by which he is assured of his identity from day to day. Nor is this all. It is his preëminent, his distinctive, his crowning prerogative. And he, therefore, who attempts to live, in any way, in a neglect or disavowal of his religious nature, not only neglects and disavows a high and imperative obligation, enstamped by God on his very constitution; not only is heedless of the heaven-inspired and heaven-directed wants and calls of his own spirit; but lives, even in his happiest earthly lot, but in a part, and in infinitely the poorest part, of his mortal being. *

Let then every thing be hallowed by "a high consecration" to religious uses. Remember,

> "He that desires to see
> The face of God, in his religion, must
> Sincere, entire, content, and humble be."

Let nothing come in competition with the established claims,

* "The whole faculties of man must be exerted in order to noble energies; and he who is not earnestly sincere, lives but in half his being, self-mutilated, self-paralyzed."— Coleridge's *Friend.*

the rightful supremacy, of your religious capacities and powers. Let nothing mar, debase, or impair them. Let the idea of God sit enthroned, as God, within you. Let the authentic and imperative voice of conscience be ever, and under all circumstances, implicitly obeyed. Honor it. Reverence it. Fall down before it. Give it the entire homage of your entire soul. Let religious sentiment control and sanction all other emotions. Let the fear of God cast out all other fear. Let the love of God hallow all other love. And let those far-reaching hopes and aspirations, which antedate the blessedness of a future world, and that capacity of moral progress, which is the present pledge of a future glory, sanctify to holy uses, every pursuit, desire, and object in the life that now is.

ART. II. — *The Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the Year.* First American Edition. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 1834. 12mo. pp. 415.

IT is some years since we became acquainted with the above-named work, having been induced to purchase it, in an English edition, by the promise which the perusal of a few lines gave us of its merits. The promise was kept, and we were growing more and more attached to the volume, — wondering, at the same time, that we never heard it mentioned by others, — when we saw advertised this American edition of it by Bishop Doane of New Jersey. It was time for an American edition; for between the years 1828 and 1834, there had been twenty-five editions of it published in England. Part of this popularity was no doubt owing to its subject, — the course of the Christian year, according to the calendar of the English Church; but we must ascribe much of it to its real poetical beauty.

All that we know of the author, we have gathered from the Preface of his American editor; and there we only learn, that his name is Keble, that he is Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, and that he is also "the exemplary and faithful pastor of a humble country congregation."

Bishop Doane has dedicated this edition to his friend, the

Rev. William Croswell of Boston; and, beside a preface, he has added some notes, explanatory and illustrative, among which he has taken occasion to introduce a few pieces of Mr. Croswell's poetry. While we thank him for making known the volume of Keble to the lovers of religious poetry on this side of the water, and thank him for the greater part of his notes, and for the stanzas of his friend, which are very good, we must take the liberty to find fault with him also on one or two accounts. Why did he deform his pages by printing, sometimes a line, sometimes two lines, sometimes a verse, in Italics? "He has adopted that mode," he says, "of designating such lines as possess, in his judgment, peculiar beauty." What if all editors should adopt "that mode"? It is well enough for reviewers, in quoting from a work reviewed, occasionally to italicize lines to which they desire to call especial attention; but what if our editions of Cowper, of Scott, of Campbell, were speckled all over with American italics, and in different portions of the original according to each editor's fancy? Would the reading public thank the editing gentlemen for thus selecting beauties for them, as if they were deficient in the requisite taste to select them for themselves? We are sorry that a gentleman of Bishop Doane's judgment has committed such a mistake; and we assure him, that they who can see beauty, with their own eyes, will wish those italics out of their way, and that they who lack the requisite discernment, will either not read a book of so refined a character as this of Keble's, or will be little assisted by the italics, if they do read it, or try to read it.

We have another complaint to make against the editor. Why did he suffer any of his notes to assume a controversial character? Did he suppose that he should gain converts to Episcopacy, or settle that everlasting dispute about apostolical succession, by a few words in prose at the foot of a page of poetry? We refer now to his note on the following verse of Keble's on St. Matthias's Day.

> "Where can thy seal be found,
> But on the chosen seed from age to age,
> By thine anointed heralds duly crowned,
> As kings and priests thy war to wage?"

Here is the note by Bishop Doane.

"This is a pregnant question. The ministers of Christ either represent him, or act in their own name. If the latter, what

authority have they more than other men? If the former, where is the evidence of their authority to represent Christ? That he sent the Apostles in his own name is evident. That they in like manner sent others is evident. That from the Apostles' times, the sacred chain has never yet been broken is evident. Where shall the seal be looked for then, but among those who, from age to age, have still been sent by those whom Christ sent, as the Father first sent him? What warrant surer need there be than theirs, which, issued at the first by Christ himself, has since been handed down, from hand to hand, as duly and as certainly as the inspired record of our faith?"

Now this reasoning may seem, and doubtless does seem, perfectly convincing to the writer of the note. And yet he must have known that such reasoning has been answered again and again. If he will but look into our number for November, 1834, he will see it answered there, with both facts and arguments, which he will find it no easy task to refute. But at any rate, as Keble himself had contented himself without an argument, what call was there on his editor to enter into one, and thus run the risk of irritating many readers, who he could not suppose would be convinced by a short note?

And yet we are willing to put up with, though sorry to perceive, the abovementioned errors of judgment, for the sake of the real improvements which Bishop Doane has added to the English edition, and the true enthusiasm which he manifests for his author. We love to see such enthusiasm; we would forgive much more for its sake; especially when it has so good a foundation as in the present case.

If the only cause of the dissatisfaction of our Puritanic forefathers with the English Church had been the Liturgy and order of service of the latter, we confess that our sympathy with them would have been small. Their resistance to ecclesiastical domination and pride, and their disgust with the lives and manners of a large portion of the established clergy, engage our hearty concurrence, and secure our lasting veneration. But their antipathy to the forms of the church was excessive, and, though natural enough, passionate and unreasonable. We envy not those who inherit it from them. We are not, however, entirely satisfied with the English Liturgy. There are several parts of it to which we seriously object. Neither do we intend to express any decided opinion here, concerning the merits or demerits of forms of prayer in

general. But we do say, that a Christian order of the year, according to which each Lord's Day has its appointed place, and its peculiar associations with some event of his life, or some doctrine, parable, or precept which fell from his sacred lips, is a beautiful order, a valuable help and incitement to the humble disciple's memory, and an appropriate disposition to be made of God's year by the church of God. We do say, that in our opinion, our forefathers, wise as they were in many respects, did an unwise thing when they dismissed this beautiful order, and expunged its holy names and its guiding signs from the book of their church.

We believe that this Christian order of the year is one of the main spiritual supports of the Church of England. Its resting-place is in human affections, and, resting there, it will stand many a rude shock. It is so sound and firm, that it lends of its strength to other parts of the structure which are unsound. Many of the friends of that church have been aware of this fact, and have made use of it. The author of the volume before us has done so, by joining to the attractions of the Christian Year the charms of sweet poetry, and thus rendering its attractions stronger and more permanent, in the minds of those over whom sweet poetry has power. The love, which is thus engaged towards a certain order of religious associations, is naturally transferred to the church by which that order is observed; and there must needs be great evils, evils in doctrine, government, or practice, to shake it from its hold.

The success with which Keble has executed his task, though on the whole admirable, is not uniform. His main faults are diffuseness and obscurity; — though the diffuseness is rather of thought than of language, and the obscurity is not so much the want of clearness of expression, as it is remoteness of allusion. The many thoughts which he brings to illustrate a subject, sometimes crowd and confuse one another; and his passing references, not being always to facts sufficiently familiar, invest whole verses in shadow, if not in darkness.

But his beauties are great; pure, spiritual beauties, such as, once perceived, are never forgotten. How delightfully the spirit of cheerfulness, contentment, and piety breathes from the following verses, which we extract from the first piece in the book, entitled "Morning," and intended as a companion to the Morning Prayer of the Liturgy.

"Oh! timely happy, timely wise,
Hearts that with rising morn arise!
Eyes that the beam celestial view,
Which evermore makes all things new! *

"New every morning is the love
Our wakening and uprising prove;
Through sleep and darkness safely brought,
Restored to life, and power, and thought.

"New mercies, each returning day,
Hover around us while we pray;
New perils past, new sins forgiven,
New thoughts of God, new hopes of heaven.

"If on our daily course our mind
Be set to hallow all we find,
New treasures still, of countless price,
God will provide for sacrifice.

"Old friends, old scenes, will lovelier be,
As more of heaven in each we see:
Some softening gleam of love and prayer
Shall dawn on every cross and care.

"As for some dear familiar strain
Untired we ask, and ask again,
Ever, in its melodious store,
Finding a spell unheard before;

"Such is the bliss of souls serene,
When they have sworn, and stedfast mean,
Counting the cost, in all to' espy
Their God, in all themselves deny.

"O could we learn that sacrifice,
What lights would all around us rise!
How would our hearts with wisdom talk
Along Life's dullest, dreariest walk!

"We need not bid, for cloister'd cell,
Our neighbour and our work farewell,
Nor strive to wind ourselves too high
For sinful man beneath the sky:

"* Revelations xxi. 5."

"The trivial round, the common task,
Would furnish all we ought to ask;
Room to deny ourselves; a road
To bring us, daily, nearer God.

"Seek we no more; content with these,
Let present Rapture, Comfort, Ease,
As Heaven shall bid them, come and go:—
The secret this of Rest below.

"Only, O Lord, in thy dear love
Fit us for perfect Rest above;
And help us, this and every day,
To live more nearly as we pray."

The next verses which we shall quote, are from the piece on the First Sunday after Christmas, which is, of course, always the first Sunday of the civil year.

"Time's waters will not ebb, nor stay,
Power cannot change them, but Love may;
What cannot be, Love counts it done.
Deep in the heart, her searching view
Can read where Faith is fixed and true,
Through shades of setting life can see Heaven's work begun.

"O Thou, who keep'st the Key of Love,
Open thy fount, eternal Dove,
And overflow this heart of mine,
Enlarging as it fills with Thee,
Till in one blaze of charity
Care and remorse are lost, like motes in light divine;

"Till, as each moment wafts us higher,
By every gush of pure desire,
And high-breath'd hope of joys above,
By every sacred sigh we heave,
Whole years of folly we outlive,
In His unerring sight, who measures Life by Love."

Our next specimen of Keble's poetry, shall be the whole of the poem on Whitsunday, or the Day of Pentecost.

"When God of old came down from Heaven,
In power and wrath he came;

Before his feet the clouds were riven,
Half darkness and half flame:

"Around the trembling mountain's base
The prostrate people lay,
Convinc'd of sin, but not of grace;
It was a dreadful day.

"But when He came the second time,
He came in power and love,
Softer than gale at morning prime
Hover'd his holy Dove.

"The fires that rush'd on Sinai down
In sudden torrents dread,
Now gently light, a glorious crown,
On every sainted head.

"Like arrows went those lightnings forth
Wing'd with the sinner's doom,
But these, like tongues, o'er all the earth
Proclaiming life to come:

"And as on Israel's awe-struck ear
The voice exceeding loud,
The trump, that angels quake to hear,
Thrill'd from the deep, dark cloud,

"So, when the Spirit of our God
Came down his flock to find,
A voice from heaven was heard abroad,
A rushing, mighty wind.

"Nor doth the outward ear alone
At that high warning start;
Conscience gives back th' appalling tone;
'T is echoed in the heart.

"It fills the Church of God; it fills
The sinful world around;
Only in stubborn hearts and wills
No place for it is found.

"To other strains our souls are set:
A giddy whirl of sin
Fills ear and brain, and will not let
Heaven's harmonies come in.

"Come Lord, come Wisdom, Love, and Power,
Open our ears to hear;
Let us not miss th' accepted hour;
Save, Lord, by Love or Fear."

In the lines on St. Matthias's Day, occurs the verse which suggested the editorial note on which we felt obliged to animadvert just now. But the first four verses of the same piece give a description of a minister, like unto whom we should rejoice to see many in all denominations. The ordination of such a one could not but be valid, — his office apostolic and divine. The motto is from Acts i. 21, 22. "Wherefore of these men, which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us; beginning from the baptism of John, until that same day that he was taken up from us; must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection."

"Who is God's chosen priest?
He, who on Christ stands waiting day and night,
Who traced His holy steps, nor ever ceased,
From Jordan banks to Bethphage height:

"Who hath learned lowliness
From his Lord's cradle, patience from His cross;
Whom poor men's eyes and hearts consent to bless;
To whom, for Christ, the world is loss;

"Who both in agony
Hath seen Him and in glory; and in both
Owned Him divine, and yielded, nothing loth,
Body and soul, to live and die,

"In witness of his Lord,
In humble following of his Saviour dear:
This is the man to wield th' unearthly sword,
Warring unharm'd with sin and fear."

The lines on the offices of Communion, Baptism, Visitation of the Sick, and Burial of the Dead, are all in holy harmony with the offices themselves, — sweet, solemn, touching. With the last of these we close our present notice; expressing the conviction that Keble's Christian Year has added richly to the stores of Christian poetry, and that many a Christian, of

whom he can know nothing, will bless him through the year for the aid and solace which his poetry has imparted.

"BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

"And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not. And He came and touched the bier (and they that bare him stood still) and said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise. *St. Luke* vii. 14, 15.

"WHO says, the wan autumnal sun
Beams with too faint a smile
To light up nature's face again,
And, though the year be on the wane,
With thoughts of spring the heart beguile?

"Waft him, thou soft September breeze,
And gently lay him down
Within some circling woodland wall,
Where bright leaves, reddening ere they fall,
Wave gayly o'er the waters brown.

"And let some graceful arch be there
With wreathed mullions proud,
With burnish'd ivy for its screen,
And moss, that glows as fresh and green
As though beneath an April cloud. —

"Who says the widow's heart must break,
The childless mother sink? —
A kinder, truer voice I hear,
Which, even beside that mournful bier
Whence parents' eyes would hopeless shrink,

"Bids weep no more. — O heart bereft,
How strange, to thee, that sound!
A widow o'er her only son,
Feeling more bitterly alone
For friends that press officious round.

"Yet is the voice of comfort heard,
For Christ hath touch'd the bier, —
The bearers wait with wondering eye,
The swelling bosom dares not sigh,
But all is still, 'twixt hope and fear.

"Even such an awful soothing calm
We sometimes see alight

On Christian mourners, while they wait
In silence, by some church-yard gate,
Their summons to the holy rite.

"And such the tones of love, which break
The stillness of that hour,
Quelling th' embitter'd spirit's strife, —
'The Resurrection and the Life
Am I: believe, and die no more.' —

"Unchang'd that voice, — and though not yet
The dead sit up and speak,
Answering its call; we gladlier rest
Our darlings on earth's quiet breast,
And our hearts feel they must not break.

"Far better they should sleep awhile
Within the church's shade,
Nor wake, until new heaven, new earth,
Meet for their new immortal birth
For their abiding-place be made,

"Than wander back to life, and lean
On our frail love once more.
'T is sweet, as year by year we lose
Friends out of sight, in faith to muse
How grows in Paradise our store.

"Then pass, ye mourners, cheerly on,
Through prayer unto the tomb,
Still, as ye watch life's falling leaf,
Gathering from every loss and grief
Hope of new spring and endless home.

"Then cheerly to your work again
With hearts new-brac'd and set
To run, untir'd, love's blessed race,
As meet for those, who face to face
Over the grave their Lord have met."

F. W. P. G.

ART. III. — *Johann Gottfried von Herder's Sämmtliche Werke. Zur Religion und Theologie. Herausgegeben durch* JOHANN GEORG MÜLLER. 18 Theile. Stuttgart und Tübingen. 1827 – 1830. *The Complete Works of* J. G. HERDER. *On Religion and Theology.*

THE biographical sketch of Herder, which we gave in a former Number,* may have awakened the desire, in some of our readers, to be put in possession of further notices of his theological opinions and services. Our intention of doing this has already been intimated; and with such facilities as are afforded in his voluminous, but somewhat desultory writings, we now proceed to the performance of the agreeable task.

The epoch at which Herder flourished is one of great importance in the history of German Theology. He was born, as will be recollected, about the middle of the last century, when a spirit of bold and free inquiry, on all subjects pertaining to the interests of man, was just beginning to pervade the most active and enlightened portions of European society. The great topics of religion were destined to feel the influence of this movement. The prevailing faith of the church, which had hitherto rested chiefly on tradition and authority, was submitted to new and startling examinations, and an effectual shock given to many modes of thought, which had been handed down from father to son for ages, without a suspicion that they were not founded on the rock of everlasting truth. This was the unavoidable result of the mental stagnation, that had long reigned over the whole province of Theology. That noble science, which presents such vast and fruitful themes to the intellect and heart of man, when it breathes its native life, was reduced to a collection of petrifactions, without sufficient beauty or grace, to entitle them even to a place in the cabinets of the curious. Its vital sap and freshness were exhausted, and it needed the infusion of a new life, before it could bear fruit fit for the refreshment and sustenance of man. Since the time of Luther and his immediate coadjutors, little had been done to redeem Theology from the errors of past ages, and to animate it with a living principle of progress and growth. The direction, which that great but undisciplined reformer had

* See Christian Examiner, No. LXVIII. for May, 1835.

impressed upon the current of thought, had been arrested soon after its commencement, by the influence of a scholastic philosophy, which still exercised an almost unlimited power, and by the leaden weight of the formal and elaborate creeds, in which his doctrinal opinions were embodied, and which soon became the objects of an undue veneration, as the unchangeable standards of the church and the oracular expressions of her faith. The study of Theology, as a science, the principles of which are deeply laid in the nature of man, was almost wholly neglected. The want of extensive philological learning, and of sound canons of criticism, prevented a correct understanding of the contents of the Bible; so that, although the Reformation had made a vigorous attack on the errors of the Romish Church, the condition of Protestantism, in point of true and enlightened ideas of religion, presented but faint indications of actual improvement. This was the prevailing state of the Lutheran Church in Germany, until some time after the commencement of the last century. The labors of the theological writers of that period, who, for the most part, made use of the Latin language, present specimens of formality, dryness, and a servile devotion to the letter of their creeds as well as of Scripture, hardly surpassed in the worst days of English Theology. The opinions of Hutter, Gerhard, Calov, Quenstedt, and others of the same stamp, who were eminent divines in their time, are of little value now, except as evidences of the state of Theology and of general scientific culture, which could give currency to their tedious and wire-drawn speculations.

The first light that indicated the dawning of a brighter day, proceeded from Baumgarten, a professor at Halle, the predecessor and teacher of the renowned Semler. He did nothing more, however, than to prepare the way for the progress of his pupils, and his own works have passed into oblivion. Semler may be regarded as the father of the modern German Theology. He early engaged, with great independence and ardor, in the study of the Scriptures, and, guided by higher views of philology, than had hitherto prevailed, soon struck out an original path of thought and investigation, which cannot yet be said to have been pursued to its end. His abilities and zeal, united with the labors of Ernesti at Leipsic and of Michaelis at Göttingen, threw a new light on the science of Theology, and gave a strong impulse to its successful study.

The researches of many of the most able and learned scholars in Germany, were now turned in the direction of sacred letters; and from this period we may fairly date the birth of that complicated system, which, under the name of German Theology, has been the object of so much interest with scientific theologians of every nation, and, under different circumstances, of so much mingled apprehension and hope.

Among the pioneers in this reform, Herder holds a conspicuous place. He was contemporary with the most eminent writers, from whom it received its first and strongest impulses, and himself contributed, in no small degree, towards its progress. He early saw the defects in the prevailing systems of the times. His fine taste was thoroughly averse to the dry and formal style of discussion that entered into most theological writings. His excellent judgment detected many errors and inconsistencies in the usual representations that were given of religion, and his fearless spirit did not hesitate to avow the convictions, which were forced upon it. The ardent love of truth, which he cherished as the apple of his eye, led him to admit the results of accurate inquiry and sound reasoning, though at war with his previous opinions and ideas. At the same time, he saw that many crude and extravagant theories were often proposed, many false lights hailed as the rising of the true sun, and many ardent minds led in unsafe paths, which had nothing to recommend them but their novelty and danger. With these views, Herder can hardly be classed with either the old or the new school, into which the theologians of that day, though pursuing a common object, and acting in harmony with each other, were in fact divided. He stood rather on his own independent ground, with his eye open to the approach of light from whatever part of the heavens it might break forth, but unwilling to yield his free thoughts to the guidance of any earthly teacher.

In the account which we shall give of Herder's mode of thinking in Theology, we would take care to guard ourselves and all others from being made responsible for any of the opinions which may be described. We wish to show what Herder was, not to inquire how far the views which he cherished are in accordance with truth. That would involve a wide range of thought and investigation, for which, perhaps, neither our readers nor ourselves are sufficiently prepared. It may be said of Herder, with far more correctness than he said of Leibnitz,—

"the greater part of his writings are not finished works, but brief sketches and hints, thrown out in letters, the sparks and effervescence of knowledge. But, since his active and powerful mind was employed on every branch of science, we may hover round him like bees, and touch some flowers in his fair and fertile fields." We merely present his opinions as those of a man who thought deeply and searched honestly, and which may not be without use in exciting us to thought and inquiry for ourselves. As Müller says in the Preface to a part of Herder's works, — "It is not our call to defend or to contradict them. We are publishing, not our own confession of faith, but the writings of Herder. Here they are. Let them speak for themselves."

A love for free inquiry, we have already stated, was a prominent trait in the character of Herder. This exerted such a marked influence on his whole course of thought, that it may be well to speak of it at some length in this place. He was not one of those who are disposed to lay any restrictions on the full and frank expression of thought. He would have speculation take its course to all points of the compass, and see what fruit it can discover even in deserted and untrodden climes. The earnest discussion of truth had no terrors for him. He desired to have all opinions confronted together, that their genuine character might be ascertained. The only security for the progress of science and the ultimate establishment of the truth was to be found, according to his view, in the calm comparison of different opinions, without excitement and without prejudice. He carried this principle so far, as to suppose that the best interests of religion were promoted by the free utterance of any doubts that were felt, either with regard to the received dogmas of the church, or the origin and character of Christianity itself. He would have this done, however, by competent men, in the spirit of reverence for truth and for humanity, not with the flippancy and conceit, which were often displayed by pretenders to knowledge in his day as well as our own. All past experience shows, in his opinion, that the influence of skeptical inquiry on the Christian religion has not been so fearful as was apprehended. In many respects it has even been of great use. It not only awakened a spirit of examination and kept it on the watch, but it cannot be denied that it occasioned better writings than it wrote itself, and produced effects the very opposite to those which it had in view. All persecution, he insisted, on account

of thought, to whatever subject it might be turned, was at war with the spirit of Christianity. The very essence of Protestantism is conviction, and, of course, individual examination and independence. Still less should the opponents of error wish to employ the aid of physical force. It is no credit to write against a book that has been burned, or to contend with a man imprisoned for heresy. And who can deny, asks Herder, that, in every collision between thinking minds, sparks have been struck out, as between the flint and steel? Is it not a great gain, when such a man as Leibnitz utters his thoughts on Hobbes and Shaftesbury, on Toland and Huet, and others, whether the foes or the advocates of Christianity? And if, when deficiencies are pointed out, the church permits many a stumblingblock and scandal, many a false theory and repulsive doctrine, quietly to be removed, is it not a benefit to be highly prized, even though infidels have given occasion to it?

The influence of the inquiries, that were called forth in England by the attacks of skeptical writers upon Christianity, was regarded by Herder as of great weight in the formation of German Theology. It is curious, at this distance of time, to observe the changes in the commerce of thought which have taken place between the two countries. The first impulse to a more profound study of theology in Germany was given by the labors of English scholars, who had suggested many new points of view, and brought to the subject a freedom of thought and variety of learning, that are rarely enjoyed in any department of science. The translation of such writers as Locke, Clarke, Butler, and Jortin, contributed much towards the diffusion of a purer taste and a better tone of thought among the German students; and without their aid, as Herder remarks, a more liberal way of thinking would hardly have taken the place of the dry and scholastic forms of the old Latin dogmatics. The progress that has since been made in Germany, in every branch of study at all connected with theological science, and the dreary interval between her scholars and those of England, need scarcely be mentioned to those who are not ignorant of the relative position of sacred learning in the two countries.

It was the opinion of Herder, that the free spirit of English Theology, as manifested by the writers whose names have been mentioned, and others of a kindred genius, had no small effect in promoting a similar spirit and more correct views of

truth in Germany. These he regarded as the only security against the attacks of infidels. "I do not anticipate," says he, "such dangerous consequences, from the modern investigations on religion as you, my friend, seem to apprehend. If they are not to the purpose, they will go down of themselves. They are chaff which the wind will drive away. On the other hand, are they well-founded, they will be of service to religion, they will clear up its difficulties, they will give it more firmness, greater purity and light. A ship on the ocean needs the wind; the human mind demands continued inquiry and discussion on both sides. I have no doubt that many good effects have already taken place from these investigations. Has it been of no service to us that we have been made acquainted with the writings of English authors like Foster and Butler, Law, Benson, and Locke? On their first appearance among us a general outcry was raised. 'Naturalism! Deism! Arians! Socinians! Christianity will be destroyed if these translators are not forcibly put down.' A contrary effect has been shown. Christianity remains where it was. But the scholastic spirit, which everywhere prevailed in our sermons, our didactic treatises, and our writings on practical religion, thank God, has partly passed away. The poison, which was to be brought to us by these works, has injured no one in Germany, except it be a few minds predisposed to disease; they have rather been submitted to a more correct and searching criticism, than they received in England." With the aid of sound philological learning, and a liberal and just system of interpretation applied to the sacred records, he had no fear from the results of the boldest inquiry. The disposition to conceal or gloss over the weak points of any system, to hush up any difficulties that were suggested by preventing examination, was one for which he had not the slightest respect or tolerance. He could not but despise the abject spirit, which feared to look directly at facts, through dread of the truths which they might disclose. Least of all, could he endure the idea that the science of Theology was invested with any peculiar rights, which exempted it from undergoing the scrutiny, to which the principles of every other science are subjected. "When shall we learn," says he, speaking as a theologian, who has the interests of religion deeply at heart, "when shall we learn not to make such careful distinctions between theological truth and every other kind of truth, — between theological morality,

propriety, and beauty, and every other? How long shall we wish to have every thing pertaining to theology, even in the most remote degree, judged of in the spirit of caste, as if claiming for it the benefit of clergy? It is true that we are theologians; but it is not for ourselves alone. We teach, investigate, proclaim, and defend a religion, but for other classes besides ourselves. Would we imitate our divine example, we must leave the ninety and nine theological controvertists, in the wilderness, and go after the one lost sheep among the laity, who has doubts upon certain points of our religion, and who, if we do it not, will be justly scandalized at our love of ease, our stiffness, and formality. The Bible is not written alone for theologians and their doubts. It is far from being the case, that truth changes its nature in their hands. What in every other science is tedious, unfounded, and in bad taste, or, yet worse, is absurd, wicked, and deceptive, cannot at once become delightful, profound, and full of genius, still less, honest, religious, and warmed with a true zeal for God, as soon as it takes shelter under the name of a sermon, a theological treatise, or an apology for religion. For the most part, these are not written for members of our caste, who are accustomed to our language and fashion, and to the indulgence which we mutually demand and bestow, but for men who are acquainted with beauty, decorum, solid reasoning, and historical and philosophical evidence, in other departments of inquiry. Why, then, do we not judge ourselves, that we be not judged by others, or, in spite of our titles and names, that we be not despised and condemned with the host of worthless authors?"

With such views of theology, as a science resting on its own merits, and presenting no extrinsic claims to consideration, Herder was always anxious that it should be made the subject of free and generous study. He could not conceive why men should not bring to its examination as serene and unclouded a mind, as they did to any other intellectual pursuit in which they might engage. Theology, he maintained, is certainly a liberal science, in fact, the most so of any, the free gift of God to the human race, to aid them in the attainment of the best fruits of reason, of a pure virtue, and of true enlightenment. His views of the early teachers of religious truth were of a very high character. He regarded them as the fathers of human cultivation, the richest benefactors of the reason, the intellect, and the affections, which man has ever enjoyed. The primitive sages, the first lawgivers and poets, proceeded from this sacred

grove, and the subsequent progress of science was often only an unfolding of the old Theology, as the fruit from the original germ. "Why should we not, then," he asks, "rejoice in our ancestry, and with all the zeal and love, with which the poets, prophets, and sages of ancient times announced to the world the lofty truths, which they dimly saw, — why should not we set them forth in a brighter and purer light, and with a more sublime enthusiasm? If Orpheus and Homer, Pythagoras and Plato, Hesiod and Pindar, extolled with such rapture the birth and glory, the dominion and miracles of their gods, the primitive germs of human science and virtue, — why do we cast down our eyes like slaves, when we speak of the true and everlasting God, — of his wonders and his revelations, his dealings with the human race to promote their eternal dignity and blessedness? Do we suppose, that we can see best in the midst of light with our eyes bound up, with a heavy bandage over sense and soul, — that we can trace the workings of the Infinite Spirit, when our own is sunk in the most degrading bondage? Away with such a contemptible delusion. The revelation of God is the dayspring from on high, the rising of the vernal sun upon the world with all its fulness of light and warmth and life. Why should we bring to it a sad and melancholy face, as if that belonged to the Bible and Theology, like the beggar's bag to the asking of alms?"

He was an earnest advocate for the study of Theology on a broad and comprehensive scale. It presents subjects, as he regarded it, of the deepest import to the heart and understanding of man. Its doctrines, rightly conceived, he maintained, comprised the most profound, the most important, the most sublime philosophy. It speaks of every thing of which philosophy speaks; it makes use of all the good and true which philosophy has attained, since it regards reason as a divine endowment; but it supports the conclusions of philosophy on firmer grounds, derives them from a higher source, and adds to them an endless variety of new and beautiful views. Does it become, on this account, asks Herder, a narrow and slavish system? Is not truth everywhere the same? Does it not always possess the same charm and the same utility? Truth and virtue, he continues, are the most precious treasures of humanity, and the science, which teaches and applies them, is the noblest of all sciences. And this science is Theology, the science of God and of man. But, although Herder cherished

such a deep sense of the importance and dignity of Theology as a science, he was far from confounding it with religion, considered as a want and sentiment of human nature. He wished to draw a sharp line of distinction between them. The neglect of this distinction, he thought, had produced many unhappy consequences.

Religion, he argued, even according to its etymological signification, is a matter of the inward nature, the higher consciousness of man. The original import of the word is the exact observance of an established rule. According to this explanation, it related at first to the honor paid to God and to divine things, to the vows offered in his name, to the strict fulfilment of every duty which men owed to their country, its laws and institutions, regarded as under the protecting care of Providence. Its essence, accordingly, was truth and fidelity. It was the grand central point, around which clustered the holiest feelings of the man, the citizen, and the friend, the most sacred bond of his inward consciousness, the altar of his purest and strongest affections. This is religion, in its primitive and its true significance. Now what connexion is there between this state of the soul and the speculative doctrines of Theology? These are propositions, for and against which we may dispute. So far they have nothing to do with religion. This is by no means a matter of disputation. It consists in heartfelt devotion to duty, in obedience to truth as revealed to the higher nature of man. It seeks not to investigate in matters of doubt, but to act in matters where there is no doubt. For as soon as investigation becomes religion, it ceases to be doubt, it becomes a momentous concern, a positive duty, a holy sentiment. On the other hand, as soon as the disputes of Theology have cast a doubt over what we had cherished as religion, it ceases to be religion, and becomes a problem to be settled, a mere hypothesis, or, when determined by a school, a theory or dogma. And such arbitrary theories have, in all ages been the grave of religion, and will continue to be so, as long as they exist.

The science of Theology, then, according to Herder, should be made the subject of liberal study, but its results should never be confounded with the essential spirit of religion. With such convictions of their mutual independence, we cannot be surprised, that, while he cherished the feeling of deep and ardent piety, he engaged in all investigations pertaining to

Theology, with a freedom and fearlessness, which it has been too often thought should be confined to other departments of science. But the time has gone by to give place to this delusive idea. If Theology is ever to attain the rank of a genuine science, it must be taken from the hands of cowards and charlatans, and studied with the same manly freedom of thought, the same sacred love of truth, the same conscientious purpose to know a thing as it is, no less than as it has been taught, which have guided the pursuits of scientific men in other branches of inquiry and knowledge.

It was in this spirit, that Herder entered into the researches, which occupied a large portion of his life, and which had for their object to shed light on the earliest records of our race, to explain the revelations of God to man, to illustrate the history of the founder of our faith, and to contribute new proofs of the divinity of his religion. The result, in the mind of Herder, was an ever-growing conviction of the truth and value of Christianity, clearer and more enlarged views of its essential character, and a comprehensive charity, which delighted to recognise all that was good and beautiful and true in the progress of humanity.

His views of the general subject of revelation, though admitting a direct communication from God, were somewhat at variance with the ideas that have usually prevailed with regard to it. He believed in a constant and intimate connexion between the human soul and the Spirit of God. He regarded every mental endowment, as the gift of divine Providence. In accordance with their natural powers, he supposed, that a higher degree of light had been granted to favored individuals, by which they were made the special messengers of God to their fellow men. The collection of truths, which they taught, under the influence of this light, he regarded as the substance of divine revelation. The effect of the Holy Spirit upon the mind, he maintains, is not to impair its healthy action, but on the contrary, to call forth its noblest powers in order and harmony. This view, according to his opinion, coincides with the sentiments of the ancient world, which always understood by divine inspiration, a state of the highest energy and of entire freedom. The favorite conception of modern times, however, has been of a lower character. The subject of inspiration has been regarded as no more than the pipe of an organ, through which the wind is blown, — a mere hollow medium,

deprived of his own thought and activity. A more desolate condition of human nature can hardly be imagined.

Herder was equally opposed to the usual distinctions that are made between revelation and reason. It is not well, he says, to make contradictions, where none exist in nature. Still less to sow dissensions between friendly parties, and to praise one at the expense of the other, because it is not the other but itself. It is the custom of theologians, to charge the human reason with blindness, and then, with this same stone-blind reason, to prove the necessity, the truth, and the advantage of revelation, even to the smallest hair. And then what feuds they have excited between nature and grace. The one will receive nothing at the hands of the other. Even if it presents nectar and ambrosia, it must be distilled again, and brought out in a new shape, or it is good for nothing.

This narrow procedure of theologians was entirely opposed to Herder's favorite mode of thinking. Nature and revelation, in his view, were both the gift of God. There was no hostility between them, until it was called forth by the disputes of men. They both have the same object, they aim at the same result, and they should, accordingly, exist together in mutual peace.

Revelation, he maintained, should be regarded as the great Teacher of humanity, and, of course, intended to awaken and educate the reason. By this last term, Herder understood the natural and living exercise of all the powers of the soul; and these he believed to be under the constant guidance and care of the Creator. From the first moment of our consciousness, says he, God watches over man as his favorite child. He surrounds him with means and occasions, which awaken the slumbering energies of his soul, which lead him to exercise, to prove, and to control the hidden faculties of his nature. He accompanies his first steps in the journey of life. The marks of his fatherly presence, are yet visible, after the lapse of centuries, in the traditions of all nations. These ancient traditions, as well as their rites and usages, on which their whole culture depended, are so similar to each other, that, through whatever dark labyrinths we may pass, we can hardly overlook or deny the proofs of a divine revelation, though in its most imperfect forms. We may not see clearly the mode of the communication; nor is it necessary. The Bible says little of it. It gives an account of the primitive education, which man received from God, rather in single lines, than in complete

chapters and books; and leads us always to infer the causes, from the effects, which it describes.

In this manner, by successive revelations of truth, through the instrumentality of men in whom the divine Spirit dwelt, the education of humanity has been conducted. Revelation pervades every age. God has never left the world alone. Every age has had its mission in the unfolding of truth, and contributed its share towards the spiritual culture of man. Certain ages have been signally favored in this respect; and of those to which the brightest revelations have been made, the history is contained in the mass of writings collected in the Bible.

What we call the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, remarks Herder, is a collection of Oriental writings, belonging, for the most part, to the infancy of the world. When we hear mention made of the Spirit of God, which is in them, we must place ourselves in the condition of the people among whom they were written. For the voice of all history tells us, that the greatest peculiarity exists precisely in that, which different ages and nations have called Spirit and Divine. If then, we give to expressions of this kind an arbitrary signification, or explain them according to the modern use of language, we throw great confusion over the history of the early ages, and embarrass our own minds in the pursuit of truth.

These writings, including the Apocrypha, comprise a space of nearly four thousand years; and a part of them were composed at an interval of over a thousand years from each other. Whoever, then, reads these books, as if they were written by the same man, in the same month and day, will lose his time and labor; since their connexion consists principally in the gradual unfolding of the ideas and expressions of the earlier writings, and the giving of a more spiritual sense to their primitive meaning.

The same is true of the connexion between the New Testament and the Old. The New is a fulfilment of the Old, according to the modes of thought and belief, in that age. Whoever does not enter into those mental habits, in order to distinguish between what is essential and what is only adventitious, can hardly comprehend the history or opinions of any age, not to say of an age so pregnant and wonderful, as that in which those books were written.

These views, upon which Herder was accustomed to dwell

with great earnestness, were not so familiar in his day as in our own. But, familiar as they now are, it is to be feared, that they are much oftener repeated, as theoretically true, than skilfully made use of in the interpretation of the Scriptures. They were applied by Herder himself, with singular felicity and address, to the illustration of many favorite portions of the sacred volume. Among other topics which early attracted his attention in the study of the Bible, the account of the creation and primitive state of man appears to have presented peculiar charms. It was the subject of one of his first and largest publications, and one which he took frequent opportunities of discussing in his subsequent productions. Perhaps no passage of Scripture has given birth to a greater variety of opinion than this. Certainly none has been thought to be attended with more difficulty, and the ideas of theologians concerning it, at least in our own and the parent country, are yet very far from being settled. It may be well to give a condensed view of Herder's theory with regard to it, which, if it has not been generally received, has the merit of great ingenuity, and presents a mass of suggestions and hints, which may prove of service in further investigation.

The description of the creation, given in the first chapter of Genesis, according to Herder, is a poetical fragment, of Oriental composition, designed to represent the conceptions of an early age, with regard to the origin of the universe. The key to its meaning is to be found in the impressions made by external nature upon the mind of an Eastern poet, in the first rude stages of civilization and philosophy. We can enjoy the true spirit of the passage, when we enter into the circumstances under which it was composed.

"In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth." We here see the old Oriental world, the broad universe as it appears to the eye, which looks around from a vast plain, or a high mountain-top. Heaven and Earth; — this is all that is seen; — the limits of the visible universe which displays the presence of God. What an impression must this spectacle have made on the mind of an Oriental poet, in the primitive freshness of nature. His world was contained within the blue hemisphere which bounded his vision. He knew nothing of the solar system, or of the antipodes. He regarded God as seated on the throne of heaven, and himself as the God of this earth. With such views of the creation, let us suppose

him standing on a broad and lofty eminence, surrounded by the blue horizon of illimitable extent, and, with his whole soul in the prospect, to burst forth with the song, "In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth." What a commencement for this old poem of the creation! What else could be the first inspired glance over the works of God!

The song proceeds. The poet finds the ancient earth shapeless, a desolate waste, a huge mass of waters over which darkness broods. The night wind moves upon this black and formless chaos. The spirit of God is in the rustling wind. He speaks, — "And God said, Let there be light; and there was light." The terrors of the waste, of darkness, of night, are dispelled. Light is the first glory of revelation, the first glance of God over the unformed earth. The joy, which it diffuses among men, the poet ascribes to the Creator. "And God saw the light, that it was good." What image could be more touching and beautiful, than that of the creative Spirit rejoicing in the first approach of light? "And God separated between the light and darkness; the light he called day, and the darkness he called night." The work of the first day is now ended. The Creator has produced his fairest work. He has found it good, and rejoices in it with the joy of a successful artist. He claims it for his own and assigns to it its name. "Thus was the evening, thus was the morning; one day." What beauty, what sublime simplicity, in the work of this day!

The song of creation goes on. The waters now stand upon the earth, but not without light. God elevates a part of them. "A firmament is made between the waters." One must become an Oriental to feel the force of this. The philosophy of the East, in the early ages, knew nothing of the composition of the atmosphere, the nature of rain, heat, snow, and clouds. The world of nature was regarded, as it appeared to the eye of sense, and filled the mind with images and pictures. It awakened a glowing enthusiasm, before any true scientific theory had been discovered. The imaginative Oriental regarded the heavens as a vast tent, stretched forth above the earth, — sometimes as a firm canopy of blue, — sometimes as the footstool of the Deity, over which rolled his thunder-chariots. Beyond this canopy were the waters of the upper world, on which the pillars of the divine throne were laid. Here were the treasures of the snow and the rain, from which the Almighty sent forth the storm or the shower upon the

earth. The vast Heaven, the peculiar dwelling-place of God, was over these. As the Deity was regarded as the Creator and Father of the universe, employed in its preservation and government, he was supposed to be provided in Heaven with all the resources necessary for that purpose. There was the land where light dwelt, and there was another land of darkness. There were the eternal fountains, from which it rained upon the earth; there was the dwelling of the snow, the place of the lightning and thunder. This explains the work of the second day. God stretched forth a firmament. Above it are the waters of Heaven, below it the waters of the sea. There it stands like a mirror of sapphire, between the waters, which on the first day, were flowing together in the same channels. But as yet, the work is not brought to an end; the parallel on earth is yet to be completed.

This parallel is evident. First the waters above the firmament were collected together, and there was formed the footstool of God. Now the waters which remain under the firmament flow together, and there is formed the footstool of man, the dry land, the solid earth. Hitherto the work was not pronounced good, for it was not finished. But now the artist surveys his production and finds it complete. On the one hand, the foundation of the human palace, on the other the footstool of the Deity. Here was the work of the second and third day, and God saw that it was good.

Let the natural philosophy on which these images depend, correspond with ours or not, this is little to the purpose. We are not searching for scientific truth, but for the modes of conception which prevailed in the Oriental world.

The poem now advances another step. The solid earth is no sooner formed than it is acted upon by creative powers. It must give birth to its appropriate products. "And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, and the green herb, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit." This was the first living family of the earth. The Oriental, who lived in the garden of nature, must have looked on the plants, as his friends. They were children of the same God who made the light. How could the work of the first three days be better closed than with their creation?

With the fourth day, the song commences a higher strain, but in accordance with the descriptions which have been already given. It seeks to impress more vividly the sensible

images which it at first set forth. The light of the first day, which divides day and night; the heaven of the second, which is spread out over men; the earth of the third, on which they are placed, are still kept in view. Lights are now placed in heaven to give day and night to the earth. With what primitive simplicity is the purpose of the heavenly bodies regarded! Signs for seasons, days, and year. Lights to enlighten the dwelling-place of man by day and night. Of what other use could the Oriental shepherd imagine them! He who does not feel this simple grandeur, who can cavil at the lesser and greater light, the proportion between the stars, and the sun and moon, he can feel no poetry, he can never be touched by sensible images; let him not expect to understand this choral song of the world's birth-day. But let a young man, with a heart alive to the impressions of nature, forgetting his rules and tables of science, carry himself back, for thousands of years, among those old Orientals; let him place himself on one of the sun-lit heights of the East, and look forth upon the surrounding scene. Behold, the Sun arises. The great light, the king of day. In the same place, as the shades of evening come on, appears the moon, the lesser light, the queen of night. Who will not feel the majesty of the spectacle, the power of God! He that feels this will understand the spirit of this Oriental song. With the fifth day, all nature becomes alive. The heavens have been adorned with stars, the seas collected in one place, the earth stocked with herbs and trees. Nothing is wanting but the living inhabitant. The air and water are first peopled. According to the conception of the whole passage, these are nearly related. Why should they not be furnished with inhabitants on the same day? These are created, and on them the blessing of God first rests.

Lastly, "God said, let us make man in our own image." The air, the waters, and the earth are filled with living beings. Only one thing is now wanting. The image of God is to be placed on earth. The work of creation is crowned with man. Every thing is now finished. All is good. The creation of the universe is accomplished. The picture is complete.

The history of the creation, considered in this point of view, is free from the difficulties, which have been urged against it, on account of its discrepancy with the facts of physical

science. "I am willing to confess," says Herder, "that, to a certain extent, objections of this kind are well-founded; at least, for myself, I have never seen an explanation of them, that was at all satisfactory. I am well aware how many physical, metaphysical, chronological, dogmatic, philological, and historical systems have been built on this account of the creation. Everybody knows, as well as I, that throughout this whole passage, not a word, not a syllable, not a letter, hardly a space between two letters is to be found, which has not given occasion to a host of dreams, inventions, and interpretations. Everybody knows, as well as I, that on this one chapter, as it is called, a library of many thousand volumes could be made out, and that on no subject has the human mind labored with more effort and to so little purpose, as on the beginning of the ways of God."

The principal cause of this uncertainty, Herder supposes to be the desire of finding a system of natural philosophy in the passage, instead of regarding it in its true Oriental light, as a beautiful fragment of ancient song. Every nation, every age, almost every man who thinks for himself, has attempted to reconcile it with their own views of physical science. No nation has indulged more freely in such speculations than the English. But all attempts of this kind have been in vain. They are contradicted by the whole genius and spirit of the passage in question. The graphic representations, which it exhibits, are entirely at war with all our theories of natural philosophy, and must be considered without reference to them, in order to be fully understood.

Another difficulty in the explanation of this passage has been caused by the attempt to make it a source of doctrinal instruction. It has been applied to this purpose both by Jewish and Christian theologians. Grant that they have said many good things with regard to it, no honest and well-informed Jew or Christian can deny, that they have also said much that is strange, far-fetched, unprofitable, and false. Who is ignorant of the many childish, mystical, and cabalistic applications which have been made of it by the Rabbins? But consider only the spirit of dogmatic interpretation, in which it has been explained by Christians. It is a law of all sound criticism, that, in order to understand and explain any passage of a literary work, we must enter into the spirit of its author, of the public for whom it was written, of the nation in which

it was produced, and, at least, into the peculiar tone and genius of the passage itself. The criticism of the Bible has no other laws. It is admitted, that we should bring to its explanation no foreign systems, no preconceived theories. No correct scholar would maintain that we must treat an old, natural, popular fragment of Oriental poetry, a living song of ancient tradition, as we should a legal document of the present day. And with these principles, "can we," asks Herder, "in the name of all reason and honesty, can we make a poetical fragment of this character a source of doctrinal instruction? Can we forget the peculiar stamp of poetry, which is impressed on every line of it? Can we tear it away from its connexion, its poetical relations, and all the local and national circumstances, in which it belongs? Can we shroud it in a mystical sense, and of every obscure idiom make a needle's eye, for the camel to pass through? Can we find a Trinity in the poetical name, 'Elohim,' which a sensual nation applied to God, or a third Divine Person in the image of the night-wind, which moved on the face of the waters, or a self-existent Word in the sublime expression, 'God spake'?" If we can permit ourselves a mode of procedure of this kind, says Herder, all the principles of science are in vain. The rules of reason, of taste, and of imagination, are thrown together in one confused mass, the limits of the different mental powers are broken down, and utter confusion is introduced into every department of thought. Doctrinal theology becomes poetry; and poetry, the poetry of an ancient, graphic, Oriental song, many centuries after the birth of Christ, becomes a disputed and mangled common-place of theology.

"We live in an age," continues Herder, "in which reason and logical consistency, cannot be insulted and trampled upon with impunity. I ask the rigid dogmatist, what logical consistency he observes in his mode of explaining this passage? Does he proceed on the principles of doctrinal theology? Does he suppose that every word is to be taken literally, as if it had been written expressly in support of theological doctrines, in the dry and scholastic forms of a chapter on Physics and Metaphysics? Very well. Let him take it so. But let him be consistent with himself. Let him explain the whole passage according to the same principles. Let him not take refuge in optical or anthropomorphitical considerations, when he cannot find his way through without them, and again assume a

literal, precise, dogmatic sense as soon as he can possibly make use of it. What? Shall he trifle with all logical rules, with the reason and common sense of his readers? Shall he here apply an 'as it were,' when he can do no less. And then again discard it, when it comes in more naturally than it did before? Shall he give an Oriental meaning to one word, and, immediately after, a scholastic meaning to another? Shall he neglect the spirit of the whole passage and give his readers no rules, by which he explains it throughout? What a war upon reason. Let him not dare to wage it. No. If you wish to dogmatize, dogmatize upon the whole. Bring in your firmament, and your waters above the firmament, and your self-existing light before the Sun. Hold to this as rigidly as to your six days' work and your descent of the heavenly Dove, and then you may be permitted on one page to assert dogmatically of God, that he is the Unchangeable One, with whom there is no succession of time, and, on the other, to count the number of his day's works; on one page to speak of him as the Omniscient Spirit, and on the other to represent him as inspecting what he had made to see if it was good. Contradict yourself as much as you please, for no one can think it worth while to contradict you."

It is the love of scholastic forms, Herder repeats, which has caused so many of the most acute scholars of modern times to lose their talents, their time, and their labor, in the interpretation of this passage. They wished to take the whole of it in a doctrinal sense. But they saw that it was ridiculous to understand all according to the letter. This tempted so many good heads to escape the difficulty by subtile and ingenious inventions. They wished by all means to preserve its doctrinal significance. And to do this, they have spun out, sometimes philosophical defences, sometimes physical hypotheses, sometimes mystical dreams, sometimes chronological tables of days, sometimes philological theories, to the perversion of the true sense of the words. In this way, the understanding has been shackled and cast into the dust. Until within a recent period, there has scarcely been a respectable critic, who ventured to call the first chapters of the Bible poetry; and although, at the present day, the name is often repeated, yet their true point of view, as remains of national songs, is too much kept out of sight. Yet, this would naturally be the most simple and easy explanation, which would need only to be stated, in

order to commend itself to the unprejudiced inquirer. It remains true to its principal aim from beginning to end, without entering into vexatious details; it is free from all physical and dogmatic systems, and follows only the genius of the passage, of the language, of the nation, and of the clime in which it was produced; it seeks out the meaning of all that is in the passage, but has no desire, no reason, to find a single iota in it, more than it actually contains. "If nine and ninety paths," asks Herder, "lead astray; may not the hundreth still be the way to the simple truth? And what if that way should be the easiest of all?"

From the above sketch of Herder's interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, we merely learn the path of inquiry, which he struck out, and which has since been pursued by students of the Bible with excellent success. In his various writings on the subject, he enters into a wide range of investigation, and illustrates his theory, with a richness of detail, of which our limits compel us to omit any further notice. For the same reason, we can say nothing of his views concerning the account of Paradise and the primitive state of man, but must pass to other topics, which are of too much interest to be neglected.

In the study of the Old Testament, the Hebrew prophets form, of course, an important subject of inquiry. With regard to their character and office, and their connexion with Christianity, Herder offers many pregnant suggestions, although he nowhere enters into a complete and scientific discussion of this branch of Theology. The following remarks, which we collect from many scattered passages in his writings, contain the germs of important theories, which have been expanded with more or less success by subsequent authors.

The ancient writings of the Hebrew nation, says Herder, contain the expression of many beautiful wishes and plans for the future. Hopes of a glorious light to arise upon all people, of a band of friendship to embrace all nations, of a religion to be written upon the heart, of a golden peace, in which all should participate, glow there, like the redness of the morning. But in considering these hopes and presages, as soon as we lose sight of the spirit of the prophet, the object he had in view, and the prevailing character of his style, as soon as we blindly cling to the letter, and seek its definite and formal fulfilment, we rush into innumerable follies. We depart from the original sense of the predictions into a world of dreams and shadows.

Nothing is a greater hindrance to the correct understanding of the prophets than the desire to find in them general and abstract principles, dogmatic opinions, and formal predictions. It was not the chief object of every prophet, to declare precise opinions or predictions, as we understand the terms. We are not to look for them in every place. The prophet was no preacher, according to the modern idea of that office, still less the expounder of a single, definite topic. He was the leader of the people, he announced the will of God, with reference to a particular time, a particular city, a particular posture of affairs; and he could certainly do this without an express and immediate prophecy of the Messiah. To most of the prophets, indeed, this hope was the great source of consolation. Whenever they saw into the future, the image of the Messiah passed before their eyes. But this image was not always clothed with the same form and colors. It was soft and gentle, or bold and heroic, according to the character and circumstances of the prophet. How mistaken, then, are those persons, who value an expounder of the prophecies, according as he refers this or that passage directly to Christ, and, unless he does this in every instance, renounce their confidence in his judgment. Such a procedure is unworthy and barbarous. It destroys, at once, both the expounder and the prophet, and that, on grounds which are utterly destitute of support. We must take those holy men as they are, and not wish to shape them after our own will. It will always be a hard question for us, what were the personal views of every prophet, in his clearest predictions of the Messiah,—how distinctly or how obscurely he saw into the future. Many prophets could not explain their own predictions; others foretold only a general outline of events, but did not pretend to understand the extent and completion of the whole. A prophet is no evangelist, and one feature more or less in their pictures of the Messiah should not create any difficulty.

We can never comprehend the prophetic writings, unless we read and interpret them with express reference to the connexion in which they are found, and the circumstances under which they arose. Every passage must be taken as a whole, and not arbitrarily divided into distinct parts, to each of which we attempt to give a different explanation. If, for instance, we believe that the forty-first Psalm does not treat of Christ, and yet explain the tenth verse, with reference to him, merely

because it appears to correspond with a certain event in his life, without regard to the original design of the author, we at once throw confusion and embarrassment over the interpretation of the Old Testament.

With these principles concerning the prophecies, we may regard them as the utterance of hopes and wishes, of a filial trust in God and of consoling views of the future, which received their complete fulfilment only in Jesus Christ. They were announced by wise and patriotic men, who spoke in the name of Jehovah, as the covenant God of their nation. When the Hebrew writings were collected in one book, these also were brought together, and valued as the sacred depository of the pious national hopes. Men saw in them the image of a future happy age, of a kingdom of God, and of a divine messenger, who should establish it upon the earth. When Jesus Christ appeared, the great controversy was, whether he was the Messiah predicted in these ancient books. This was asserted by himself and his disciples, but denied by his nation at large. They put a different construction upon the meaning of the prophets. The nation wished for a temporal deliverer, who should elevate them to the highest political rank, and introduce an age of worldly prosperity; Jesus of Nazareth, on the contrary, believed that the promised kingdom was to be of a spiritual character, a divine institution for the immortal happiness of all people. The kingdom of God was to be built up, and this happiness obtained, not from without, but from within; it was to come, not with external show, but through the pure knowledge of God, through filial love to him and brotherly love among men. And this was the essential character of the age, predicted by the prophets. If we remove from their descriptions all that bears the peculiar stamp and coloring of their times, all the images in which they set forth the hope of future prosperity, we shall find that their clearest predictions refer to a time, marked by the prevalence of a better knowledge of God, the destruction of ancient prejudices, and the exercise of a pure and sound morality.

With such views of the spiritual purposes of prophecy, Herder was disposed to attach little importance to those passages which indicated merely the outward condition of the Messiah. How many, says he, were born at Bethlehem, descended from the genuine stock of David, entered Jerusalem upon an ass, and yet were not the true Messiah. That the Evangelists

allude to circumstances like these, shows us the spirit of their age. But it is clear, that they laid the greatest stress on more important facts. The chief object, to which both Jesus and his disciples referred, in proof of his divine mission, was the sum total, the final result, of the prophetic teachings. If Paul ever speaks in a different manner, it is when he speaks to Jews in their own style, as one brought up in the school of the Rabbins. In the same way, passages are quoted by the Evangelists in conformity with the prevalent opinions among the people at that day. But Jesus himself, although born and educated among the Jews, penetrated into the inmost spirit of the law and the Prophets; he comprehended the whole, he perceived what was the great object and end of all, what was the way and purpose of God in the revelations that had been given. He referred neither to Bethlehem, nor to his kingly ancestry; a higher criterion existed in his soul, — the inward divinity of truth.

If then it be asked, continues Herder, if the Prophets are the ground of Christianity, we may answer, Yes, provided by the ground, we understand the occasion. They awakened the soul of Christ, they strengthened him even to his last breath, he saw in them the prediction of the work which he commenced, and transmitted to his followers. They were also the ground of his doctrine, so far as they related to the nature of his kingdom, and the way, in which it could be displayed, according to the former dealings of Providence with the Jewish people. But since all which Christ taught, and the manner of his teaching, is certainly not contained in the Prophets, we can regard them only as the ground for the rude sketch of the structure, which he erected. This structure would speak for itself, although there were not a word concerning it, to be found in the Prophets. It is well, if even wise men of ancient times, foresaw the need of a better order of things; it is delightful, that under the dimly-shining stars, they hoped for the morning dawn and the break of day. But if this fair, starry night must announce the dawn, that it is Aurora, that it is the sun of suns, if one must inquire concerning it of every twinkling star, what opinion must we form of the eye of the beholder, or of the sun itself?

A course of reasoning similar to this was pursued by Herder, with regard to the nature and purposes of the miracles recorded in the New Testament. He did not call in question

their historical truth. In his opinion they could not be separated from the narratives of the Evangelists, without doing violence to the plainest laws of literary criticism. He admitted, moreover, that there was no antecedent improbability, which should lead us to reject them, without examining their historical evidence. They are so interwoven with the whole history of our Saviour, so appropriate to his person and character as the Messiah, that Christ would be no longer Christ, if we denied these facts concerning him. We are not, however, to rest the divine authority of Christianity upon the evidence of miracles. Our Saviour himself never regarded them as the criterion of truth, nor as a gift, the value of which could be compared with that of moral endowments. It is in fact impossible, argues Herder, to establish the truth of any religion, merely on the ground of miracles. Suppose that we call religion, a system of doctrinal instruction. How can a miracle prove the truth of a doctrine, unless this has first proved itself through the conviction of the understanding? A miracle may direct attention to the doctrine, it may clothe the person of the teacher with outward consideration, it may even give him external credibility, according to the notions of the age; but the truth of the doctrine, it can never prove; and this was acknowledged by Christ himself. His words were spirit and life; he presented living waters for the refreshment and sustenance of the soul. He announced truth, which should make the heart of man alive and free. And the proof of this, he placed in the experience of every individual. To this, outward miracles could contribute nothing. If a teacher were to come before us at the present day, with the demand that we should believe his doctrine merely on account of his miracles, would not every one, who had common sense reply, "Let us discriminate here, my friend; I will first examine your doctrine and then your miracles, for they are two very different things."

Or, suppose again, that we regard the religion of Jesus as the whole institution of Christianity, as it appeared and gained a footing in the world. Miracles, in that point of view, were the means of its introduction according to the needs and condition of the age, in which it appeared. As such, their mission is long since over. They have done their work. They have reached their object. The voice which spoke on the banks of the Jordan summoned Christ to his vocation. He heard and

obeyed. The vision on the mount of Transfiguration inspired him with courage for his last journey to Jerusalem, and strengthened his disciples to endure the trial, which awaited them. Its purpose is accomplished. The stupendous event of our Saviour's resurrection is past, and has produced the mighty effects, to which it was destined. It established an institution in the world, which without its aid, to all human appearance, would have gone down. These three events show the hand of Providence in the work of Christ. They belong also to the course of history. Without them, the introduction of Christianity could never have taken place as it did. But, as surely as these miracles were performed, so surely are they to us only miracles that have been related. The attempt to reconcile them entirely with our philosophical systems, to explain them in accordance with our scientific opinions, to support them by means of physical hypotheses, is a vain and useless labor. They were not performed for us, but for the contemporaries of Christ and for Christ himself. They have accordingly accomplished their object.

"Wherefore, then," asks Herder, "in discussing the evidences of the Christian religion, as they are called, should we burden ourselves with proofs, which we cannot prove, and which prove nothing to us? Wherefore should we place ourselves, through a mere fiction, in the mental condition of those, among whom Christ, in the very act of uprooting their prejudices, wished to establish the reign of a higher and purer cultivation? Is it essential that every nation of the earth should know the genealogy of Christ? Is it possible to give to them or to us a certain proof therefrom? Is there no such thing as the redemption of man, without the two-and-forty ancestors, whom Matthew enumerates, even although God the Father himself announced him from heaven as his beloved Son? Is it necessary for us, that all the Prophets should have referred to him, and described him in the minutest trifles, in order that he should say and do that, which he actually said and did, because otherwise none of it would have been said or done? Must fire have fallen from heaven two thousand years ago, in order that we may now see the clear Sun? Do we at this moment need that the laws of nature should have stopped, before we can be convinced of the inward power and truth and beauty of the moral and spiritual kingdom of Christ? Let us thank God, that this kingdom is among us; and, instead of searching into

past miracles, let us become acquainted with its inward nature. This will convince us of itself, if any thing can. If not, the union of all the ancient Prophets, the performance of all the miracles in former times, are to us in vain."

It was in this mode, that Herder was accustomed to argue in defence of revealed religion. He wished to bring the conviction of its truth to the individual conciousness of man, instead of resting it merely on the ground of tradition and authority; and this he believed could be done only by appealing to its inward character, and demonstrating its accordance with our better nature. Among the proofs of Christianity, which Herder dwelt upon with great earnestness, the character of our Saviour holds a conspicuous place. He regarded him as the most perfect manifestation of God, which had ever been made to the world, and in the beauty, elevation, and spirituality of his character, he recognised the true signatures of Divinity. At the same time, he was averse to the habit of metaphysical speculation on the person and rank of Jesus Christ, believing as he did, that the scholastic subtilties, which had been thrown around the subject, were fatal to an enlightened faith in his mission and a just estimate of his character. While he cherished the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, as it was set forth by the sacred writers, free from the confused explanations of modern theologians, he loved to regard him chiefly in his human relations, as a being possessing all human sympathies, subject to all human feelings, clothed with all human virtues, in truth, as the type and complete expression of perfect humanity.

The views of Herder concerning Jesus Christ are explained at length, in one of his most interesting works, entitled "The Son of God, the Saviour of the World, according to the Gospel of John." From the brief abstract of a portion of this work, which we will now give, a better idea can be formed of his opinions on this point, than from any general statements.

He supposes that the introduction to the Gospel of John, was written with reference to certain philosopical speculations, which had gained currency in the East, soon after the commencement of the Christian era. These speculations related to the personification of different attributes of the Deity, and were of a character precisely adapted to pervert the simplicity of the Gospel, if permitted to mingle with its pure doctrines. In order to counteract their influence, the Evangelist John appeals to the standard of the Old Testament, and the ideas of

God which it exhibits. He wishes to destroy the effect of a vain and arrogant philosophy, which presented many attractions to the Gentiles, and through them, threatened to obtain a general prevalence in the church, by the illustration of a train of thought, with which every Jew was familiar. According to the representations of the Old Testament, Jehovah was the only God, undivided in his being, and incomprehensible in his attributes. The prevalent idea of divine emanations derived no support from its authority. It was opposed to the whole system of heathen theogony, which attributed a separate existence and divine nature to many orders of beings, considered as the immediate production of the Deity. Throughout the Old Testament, beginning from the account of the creation, the action of God upon the world is represented as a command, an efficient Word. In like manner, the organ of God's revelations to men was the Word of Jehovah, — language. The invisible Deity was thus made present within the view and comprehension of man. He became light in his soul, life and joy in the deepest springs of his being, whenever he yielded obedience to the divine command. The messengers of revelation were accordingly named, the speakers of God, the bearers of his Word. Now when the fulness of the Godhead was manifested in word and action, through Christ, no Hebrew could speak of him except in the significant and consecrated symbols, which were used in the Old Testament. The invisible became visible in his person; he was the speaking God. As such, he unveiled the idea and purpose of God, with regard to the human race, and realized it in action. He commenced the work, for which the Deity had prepared in every former age, namely, the developement of a divine principle and character in man, as the high destiny of humanity. He was thus not only the most faithful interpreter of the mind of God, but also his all-powerful instrument for the quickening of the human race in the divine dignity, to which it is destined. With this key to the writings of John, we are able to understand their true import. Every expression becomes clear, when regarded as an appeal to the Hebrew Scriptures, in opposition to the idols and fantasies of a false philosophy.

"In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with God; and the Word was God." No emanation, no Æon had been produced, as the Wisdom of God, to shape and express his ideas. What we call the Word, Wisdom, Will of God

was inseparably with him, not possessing an independent existence; not a subordiante God, since, in the Divine nature, there is nothing divisible.

"The same was in the beginning with God," — a creative Word. "By it were all things made, and without it was nothing made that was made." The most inferior and trifling object not excepted. Our world is a work of the Wisdom of God, the product of his omnipotent Will. It is not the work of the angels, not the labor of a subordinate and imperfect *demiurge*.

"In the Word was Life, and this life was the light of men." The quickening Word of creation was the source of all the light, which enlightens the human soul, the source of its noblest light, Reason. This, accordingly, is of no contemptible origin. It is a beam of the Eternal Light, an inward Life from the highest source of Life, not the gift of an inferior Æon. The All-illuminating, himself, has ever conducted the illumination of the human race, he has made it his own work, and not entrusted it to the care of angels.

"The light shone in darkness but the darkness comprehended it not." The darkness was mingled with the light, but could not prevent its shining progress. Ages of blindness and debasement passed by; but the Enlightener of the world did not desist from his purpose, but constantly acted on the mind of man.

"There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light, that all men through him might believe. This light was in the world and the world was made by it, yet the world knew it not." God had left himself to no nation without witness, since all the people of the earth are his creatures. But of this they were forgetful. Yet the true light had been unceasingly active, and prepared the way for brighter times.

"This Light (the Eternal Enlightener) came unto his own people (his covenant friends), but his own people received him not." In this respect, Judea could boast of nothing beyond other nations. This people, instructed by God himself, resisted the progress of light, even more than others. It rejected the Lord, to whom all its allegiance was due.

To this, however, there were some exceptions. "Many received him, and these became the Sons of God." This is an honor beyond all ancestral dignity, the descent from Abra-

ham or David. The true believer obtained a resemblance to God, partook of the dispositions of the Divine Mind. The adoption of the Jewish nation as the children of God had no other object than this spiritual education and culture.

To fulfil this purpose, "the Word," the Revealer of the divine Will, the Enlightener of men, "became a man, as we are, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory of an only Son, full of grace and truth."

In this manner, the Evangelist introduces his Gospel, a passage of Scripture which has given rise to so many disputes, divisions, and persecutions, with regard to the article of the eternal Godhead of Christ, that a great thinker of modern times, expressed the wish, that "all who had been alienated by the Gospel of John, might be reconciled by the Testament of John. 'Little children, love one another.'" But the true purpose of this introduction is not to divide, but to conciliate, not to occasion controversies and accusations of heresy, but to do them away. It is a Gospel of peace, not a ban of exclusion, nor a mandate of the Inquisition.

The great lesson which it inculcates, is the banishment of the metaphysical speculations, which prevailed among the Gnostics and other philosophical sects, as contrary to the true spirit of the Gospel. "Speak not," says John, "of an unknown God in the depths of your dark abstractions. No mortal eye has ever seen him. No human understanding can comprehend his being. But he is revealed to us through the Word. The whole creation is the developement of his plan, the effect of his designing Will. He is revealed in every living thing, and, especially, in the thoughts of men. Divine thoughts cherished by the human soul, divine actions performed by men, proceed from him, from the light which enlightens all, the influence of which, in spite of every obstacle, goes on, and awakens in man the noblest endowment of his nature, an affinity with God. Visible has he been made, in our own day, in him whom we have seen and heard and known as our friend. Not only did this unrivalled being speak to us of God, his Father, and place heavenly truths before us, but from himself we enjoyed celestial favor. An infinite heaven of blessedness lay around him in his teachings so full of love and truth, and from this vast ocean it was ours to draw. Do not divide the Divine Being in your fictions of a heavenly mythology. The inward and outward Word, the only-

begotten and the first-born, the Son of God, Jesus and Christ, are not distinct and separate beings. In the man Jesus Christ, the first-born has appeared, the revealer of the hidden counsel of God, the messenger of his gracious will and purpose upon earth. Not as a lawgiver did he come, but as the teacher of truth, the living manifestation and expression of Infinite Goodness and Love." If then, says Herder, the beginning of the Gospel of John has been so far misunderstood, that, when its great object is to discourage idle speculation, and bring back man to the consciousness of his own nature, and belief in Christianity to its essential character, men have made it a mine of new speculations, a battle-field of learned subtilties, about which many harsh words have been uttered, many tears wrung forth, and often, in hot and bitter zeal, the blood of man, the blood of nations has been shed, what is less to blame for it, than the Gospel itself?

Suppose that John had been living at the time of Arius, would he not have addressed him in some such friendly language as this? "My son, with what do you bewilder yourself? What do you wish to ascertain and determine? How the Son of God was born before the world? But what can you know about this? There is not a syllable on the subject in my Gospel, nor in those of my brother Evangelists. I went no further back, than our sacred books go, to the beginning of the creation. I spoke to you of the creative Word. That God produced Wisdom, which he was himself, and how he brought forth the Word,—on this I said nothing. How could I utter such sublime folly?

"And, you, Fathers of the Councils, after so many deeds of cruelty and shame, after such cabals and quarrels, such falsehoods and calumnies, what formulary of doctrine do you present to the world? Arius created from the uncreated a mythological person, whom none of us ever knew; you, on the other hand, speak of a God of God, Light of Light, begotten not made,—where do you find such notions? Have you two Gods, two Lights, where one God produces the other, one Light the other? Tell me, how one God can produce the other? I did what I could, to prevent the division of the divine Being into fictitious persons; but you do what you can, to divide the Deity, to make a second God from the first God, a second Light from the first Light, to place two Gods together, and with the authoritative word 'begotten,' as an ex-

pression of faith, to burden the understanding of your brethren. Who has given you the right to invent new articles of faith as the words of divine Wisdom? We assume not this right for ourselves. We have one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things. There is one God, and one Mediator between God and Man, the Man, Christ Jesus. This is eternal life, that we know the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he has sent! Let us abide by this, ye disputing Fathers, and have done with your heathen inventions. The times of mythology have gone by."

It would be an unprofitable labor to trace the voice of our Evangelist through all the councils of barbarous centuries, or the halls of mystical scholastics, of presumptuous dogmatists and sectarians. They have piled decision upon decision, canon upon canon, and at last have carried it so far, that no one can now speak correctly without stumbling against the decree of some council or some nicety of dogmatics. The language of most of them would be unintelligible to John himself. He would gently say to them, with this little book in his hand, "My good friends, you are in the wrong road. The doctrine which was taught concerning our Christ by myself and my brethren was always plain and simple. Without him, we knew not God. We beheld him as the person through whom the Deity was manifested. After God had long spoken to the world through prophets and wise men, he spoke to us through his Son. He had only one idea of God, that of Father. From this rich source he derived all that pertains to the salvation of men. Of himself, he had only one idea, that of Son. He must do what he saw the Father do, and freely and gladly sacrifice himself to this work. Of man, he had only one idea, — that, though fallen, he possessed the elements of a divine nature, and was made for an exalted destiny.

"After his removal from the earth, when the full perception of his existence here below arose upon us in its beauty and light, after we had lived to see what we had seen,—what could we call him other than that which he was in the depths of his soul, the Son of God, the Saviour of the world? When we saw him sacrifice himself in the discharge of his mission, we saw in him the purpose of God concerning our race revealed, we saw in him the might of divine love, we saw all that man can know of God displayed in him. We called him, therefore,

as was befitting his character, the Image of his Father, the visible glory of that primal Light which no man can see, or, if you will allow an expression in accordance with your own doctrine, the active organ of the Godhead in humanity. We thus spoke of the essential principles of our religion, without becoming idolaters or polytheists. The agent of the Eternal Father for the salvation of man, the Announcer and Interpreter of his will, was, to our senses and our understanding, the Image and the Representative of God. Whatever had been said and prefigured of the consulting Wisdom, of the creative Word, of the illuminating Light, of the Mediator and Reconciler between God and Man, we attributed to him, and to him the God-Man, we devoted our highest reverence and love. This true and active organ of the Godhead have I exhibited and taught in my writings. But you know him better. Be it so. Only do not ascribe to me your subtile inventions. Our conception of Christ was without mystery, and it spoke to the heart. WE SAW, WE LOVED, AND HONORED THE FATHER IN THE SON, AND IN HIM WE SAW OUR BROTHER."

The Divinity of Christ then, according to Herder, consisted in the divine attributes which were manifested in his person. This view he regarded as of the greatest importance to Christianity, and was accustomed to dwell upon it with his characteristic zeal in opposition to those theories, on the one hand, which denied the Divinity of our Saviour, and to those, on the other, which called in question the supremacy of the Father and the strict personal Unity of God. With the speculations of the old Arian and Socinian writers he had no sympathy. He often spoke of them, as striving after a literal accuracy and precision, which the nature of the subject did not admit, while they were apt to lose sight of the true spirit and aim of the sacred historians in their representation of Christ. "But Unitarians," says he, "in the good sense of the word, we must all be; since the doctrine of One God is the corner-stone of the Old Testament as well as the New, and Tritheism is an evident absurdity." The scholastic doctrine of the Trinity was equally repugnant to his taste, his understanding, and his heart. The controversies, to which it has given rise, he regarded as a disgrace to Christianity, and almost as an insult to human nature. The only idea of the Trinity which he believed tenable, was that of the manifestation of the One God in three important relations. In the creation of the world, as Father, in redemption,

through the Son, and in the sanctification of man, through the Holy Spirit, which rests upon him. "God in Christ, Christ himself inseparable from his flock, through their participation in the Holy Spirit; this," says Herder, "is the Trinity of John. A Trinity as intelligible as it is touching."

We might pursue our sketch of Herder's opinions in Theology to a much greater length, but the space we have already occupied admonishes us that it is time to bring this article to a conclusion. From the statements which we have made it will be perceived, that his writings are marked with the same fruitfulness and beauty, which distinguished his personal character. The science of Theology has, undoubtedly, made great progress since his day, and for the most profound and satisfactory discussions of the topics, on which he touched, we must consult the works of later writers. But in no one can we find a more ardent attachment to truth, a more enthusiastic love of beauty, or more elevated conceptions of religion, expressed with a genial and racy freshness, which betokens the purity and depth of the fountain from which they sprung. G. R.

ART. IV. — *Specimens of the Table-Talk of the late* SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. In Two Volumes. New York. 1835. 12mo. pp. 168 and 183.

HERE, we suppose, is all that the world is to know of those brilliant discoursings, to which Coleridge owed so much of his fame while he lived. It is a part of his fame that must die with him; or, at least, will nearly cease from the earth when his musical tones and rapt manner shall have faded from the memories of the few friends, who sat at his feet in faithful and admiring discipleship. From the peculiar character of his mind and conversation, what he said must necessarily be in great part evanescent. He walked much in the air, and of course left no tracks. Occasionally he touched the earth, and, in this book, the editor with great skill shows us the print of his terrestrial footsteps. The general tenor of his discourse was too ethereal to admit of note-taking. His thoughts, in his higher moods, would just bear the sort of semi-spiritual clothing of a sweet and fluent voice, but would bear no grosser embodiment. They could just inhabit a sound, but not well the

written word; write them down and they are gone; and there remains, as we often find in the works of Coleridge, words without an intelligible signification or purpose, the letter there, but the spirit, the meaning, flown. The editor of the volumes before us felt this difficulty, and says in his beautiful preface:

"I know, better than any one can tell me, how inadequately these specimens represent the peculiar splendor and individuality of Mr. Coleridge's conversation. How should it be otherwise? Who could always follow to the turning-point his long arrow-flights of thought? Who could fix those ejaculations of light, those tones of a prophet, which at times have made me bend before him as before an inspired man? Such acts of spirit as these were too subtile to be fettered down on paper; they live,—if they can live anywhere,—in the memories alone of those who witnessed them." —Vol. I. p. i.

The fragments that compose these volumes cannot be exactly "Specimens" of Coleridge's Talk. We are indebted to the accomplished editor for the shape, in which they appear. All accounts of Coleridge show that he was not a propounder of short aphorisms and bald dogmas. These paragraphs, mostly brief, sententious and unconnected, must have been, in their original delivery, wrapped about and about with the gorgeous drapery of the Mystic's imagination, and scattered through a hemisphere of clouds,—clouds, all radiant, indeed, and fringed and penetrated with the beams of most glorious truth, yet clouds still, never transparent, never clear sky, never satisfactory daylight. Accordingly, these so-called "Specimens" are to be regarded as the *residuum*, after the ethereal, incomprehensible part, at first the principal part, was volatilized and had vanished. We do not mean in these remarks to speak disparagingly of the work. It is a pleasant book, and we are glad it has been given to the world. It is as interesting, as ought to have been expected under the peculiar circumstances of the case. Any man's talk, as soon as it is printed, ceases to be his *talk*. The dramatic and *vivâ voce* interest is gone. If, however, these volumes add nothing to the literary reputation of Coleridge, they will not, with the candid, impair it. And on the whole, they do increase our respect for the man. Some things, it is true, are trite and frivolous; but remember it is a man's table-talk that is reported. There is a good deal of egotism, but this is a fault not uncommon among great men and excellent talkers. There are some things utterly dark and meaningless, and any one who knew aught of Coleridge must

have expected such things; and they will do no farther harm than make some persons believe that they contain the germs of all undiscovered wisdom. There are some false and pernicious doctrines set forth, which, if they were stated in any other form than that of conversation, ought not to pass unnoticed. Such, for instance, as his defence of Religious Intolerance, in which he maintains the good old persecuting doctrine of the 16th century. But let such things pass. Though fond of paradox, and sometimes forgetting to qualify a sweeping remark, yet, his was really a kindly spirit, and he would not for his life have had injustice or harm done to any living thing.

But, over and above all these things, there are many true and striking remarks on men and things, many apt criticisms, many noble sentiments and sound opinions, many pleasant sayings, many tokens of a gifted mind, and a pure and gentle heart.

We will quote a few of the "Specimens," and we shall select with a view to make known Coleridge's opinions and mode of thinking, rather than his colloquial manner, of which probably the book at best gives but a faint idea.

The following paragraph has at least the merit of exhibiting the faults of Gibbon in a just and striking light.

"Gibbon's style is detestable; but his style is not the worst thing about him. His history has proved an effectual bar to all real familiarity with the temper and habits of imperial Rome. Few persons read the original authorities, even those which are classical; and certainly no distinct knowledge of the actual state of the empire can be obtained from Gibbon's rhetorical sketches. He takes notice of nothing but what may produce an effect; he skips from eminence to eminence, without ever taking you through the valleys between: in fact, his work is little else but a disguised collection of all the splendid anecdotes which he could find in any book concerning any persons or nations, from the Antonines to the capture of Constantinople. When I read a chapter in Gibbon, I seem to be looking through a luminous haze or fog:—the figures come and go, I know not how or why, all larger than life, or distorted or discolored; nothing is real, vivid, true; all is scenical, and, as it were, exhibited by candle-light. And then to call it a History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire! Was there ever a greater misnomer? I protest I do not remember a single philosophical attempt made throughout the work to fathom the ultimate causes of the decline or fall of that empire. How miserably deficient is the narrative of the important reign of Justin-

ian! And that poor skepticism, which Gibbon mistook for Socratic philosophy, has led him to misstate and mistake the character and influence of Christianity in a way which even an avowed infidel or atheist would not and could not have done. Gibbon was a man of immense reading; but he had no philosophy; and he never fully understood the principle upon which the best of the old historians wrote. He attempted to imitate their artificial construction of the whole work,—their dramatic ordonnance of the parts,—without seeing that their histories were intended more as documents illustrative of the truths of political philosophy than as mere chronicles of events.

"The true key to the declension of the Roman Empire,— which is not to be found in all Gibbon's immense work,— may be stated in two words:— the *imperial* character overlaying and finally destroying, the *national* character. Rome under Trajan was an empire without a nation."— Vol. II. pp. 118, 119.

The Bentham Philosophy finds no favor, of course, with our transcendentalist.

"*Greatest Happiness Principle.*— O. P. Q., in the Morning Chronicle, is a clever fellow. He is for the greatest possible happiness for the greatest possible number, and for the longest possible time! So am I; so are you, and every one of us, I will venture to say, round the tea-table. First, however, what does O. P. Q. mean by the word *happiness?* and, secondly, how does he propose to make other persons agree in *his* definition of the term? Don't you see the ridiculous absurdity of setting up *that* as a principle or motive of action, which is, in fact, a necessary and essential instinct of our very nature,— an inborn and inextinguishable desire? How can creatures susceptible of pleasure and pain do otherwise than desire happiness? But *what* happiness? That is the question. The American savage, in scalping his fallen enemy, pursues *his* happiness naturally and adequately. A Chickasaw or Pawnee Bentham, or O. P. Q., would necessarily hope for the most frequent opportunities possible of scalping the greatest possible number of savages, for the longest possible time. There is no escaping this absurdity, unless you come back to a standard of reason and duty, imperative upon our merely pleasurable sensations. Oh! but, says O. P. Q., I am for the happiness of *others!* Of others! Are you, indeed? Well, I happen to be one of those *others;* and, so far as I can judge from what you show me of your habits and views, I would rather be excused from your banquet of happiness. *Your* mode of happiness would make *me* miserable. To go about doing as much *good* as possible to as many men as possible, is, indeed, an excellent object for a man to propose to himself; but then, in order that you may not sacrifice the real

good and happiness of others to your particular views, which may be quite different from your neighbour's, you must do *that* good to others, which the reason, common to all, pronounces to be good for all. In this sense your fine maxim is so very true as to be a mere truism." — Vol. 1. pp. 163, 164.

There is much of truth and high-minded remark in the following passage.

"*Two Modes of Political Action.* — There are many able and patriotic men in the House of Commons — Sir Robert Inglis, Sir Robert Peel, and some others. But I grieve that they never have the courage or the wisdom,—I know not in which the failure is, — to take their stand upon duty, and to appeal to all men as men, — to the Good and the True, which exist for *all*, and of which *all* have an apprehension. They always set to work, — especially, his great eminence considered, Sir Robert Peel, — by addressing themselves to individual interests; the measure will be injurious to the linen-drapers, or to the brick-layers; or this clause will bear hard on bobbinet or poplins, and so forth. Whereas their adversaries, the demagogues, always work on the opposite principle: they always appeal to men as men; and, as you know, the most terrible convulsions in society have been wrought by such phrases as, *Rights of Man, Sovereignty of the People,* &c., which no one understands, which apply to no one in particular, but to all in general. The devil works precisely in the same way. He is a very clever fellow; I have no acquaintance with him, but I respect his evident talents. Consistent truth and goodness will assuredly in the end overcome every thing; but inconsistent good can never be a match for consistent evil. Alas! I look in vain for some wise and vigorous man to sound the word Duty in the ears of this generation." — pp. 164, 165.

Coleridge manifested a great interest in theological studies. Though not a profound scholar in Divinity he was fond of curious criticism and subtile speculation, and delighted to revel in the poetry of religious sentiment, and we doubt not he was a spiritually-minded, devout, and fervently religious man.

There is much of sound and discriminating remark in the paragraph on *Dictation and Inspiration.*

"There may be dictation without inspiration, and inspiration without dictation; they have been and continue to be grievously confounded. Balaam and his ass were the passive organs of dictation; but no one, I suppose, will venture to call either of those worthies inspired. It is my profound conviction that St. John and St. Paul were divinely inspired; but I totally disbelieve the dictation of any one word, sentence, or argument throughout their

writings. Observe, there was revelation. All religion is revealed; —*revealed* religion is, in my judgment, a mere pleonasm. Revelations of facts were undoubtedly made to the Prophets; revelations of doctrines were as undoubtedly made to John and Paul;—but is it not a mere matter of our very senses that John and Paul each dealt with those revelations, expounded them, insisted on them, just exactly according to his own natural strength of intellect, habit of reasoning, moral, and even physical temperament? We receive the books ascribed to John and Paul as their books on the judgment of men for whom no miraculous judgment is pretended, nay, whom, in their admission and rejection of other books, we believe to have erred. Shall we give less credence to John and Paul themselves? Surely the heart and soul of every Christian give him sufficient assurance that, in all things that concern him as a *man*, the words that he reads are spirit and truth, and could only proceed from him who made both heart and soul. Understand the matter so, and all difficulty vanishes; you read without fear, lest your faith meet with some shock from a passage here and there, which you cannot reconcile with immediate dictation by the Holy Spirit of God, without an absurd violence offered to the text. You read the Bible as the best of all books, but still as a book, and make use of all the means and appliances which learning and skill, under the blessing of God, can afford towards rightly apprehending the general sense of it, — not solicitous to find out doctrine in mere epistolary familiarity, or facts in clear *ad hominem et pro tempore* allusions to national traditions." — Vol. II. pp. 18, 19.

Take next the following as a specimen of his wandering talk, about creeds and sects.

"I have drawn up four, or perhaps five, articles of faith, by subscription, or rather by assent, to which I think a large comprehension might take place. My articles would exclude Unitarians, and, I am sorry to say, members of the church of Rome, but with this difference, — that the exclusion of Unitarians would be necessary and perpetual; that of the members of the church of Rome depending on each individual's own conscience and intellectual light. What I mean is this: — that the Romanists hold the faith in Christ, — but unhappily they also hold certain opinions, partly ceremonial, partly devotional, partly speculative, which have so fatal a facility of being degraded into base, corrupting, and even idolatrous practices, that if the Romanist will make *them* of the essence of his religion, he must of course be excluded. As to the Quakers, I hardly know what to say. An article on the sacraments would exclude them. My doubt is, whether baptism and the eucharist are properly any *parts* of Christianity, or not rather Christianity itself; the one, the initial conversion or light; the other, the sus-

taining and invigorating life; both together the φῶς καὶ ζωή, which are Christianity. A line can only begin once; hence, there can be no repetition of baptism; but a line may be endlessly prolonged by continued production; hence the sacrament of love and life lasts for ever.

"But really there is no knowing what the modern Quakers are or believe, excepting this, — that they are altogether degenerated from their ancestors of the seventeenth century. I should call modern Quakerism, so far as I know it as a scheme of faith, a Socinian Calvinism. Penn himself was a Sabellian, and seems to have disbelieved even the historical fact of the life and death of Jesus: most certainly Jesus of Nazareth was not Penn's Christ, if he had any. It is amusing to see the modern Quakers appealing now to history for a confirmation of their tenets and discipline, — and, by so doing, in effect abandoning the stronghold of their founders. As an *imperium in imperio*, I think the original Quakerism a conception worthy of Lycurgus. Modern Quakerism is like one of those gigantic trees which are seen in the forests of North America, — apparently flourishing, and preserving all its greatest stretch and spread of branches; but when you cut through an enormously thick and gnarled bark, you find the whole inside hollow and rotten. Modern Quakerism, like such a tree, stands upright by help of its inveterate bark alone. *Bark* a Quaker, and he is a poor creature." — Vol. II. pp. 146, 147.

Coleridge was so ardent and thoroughgoing in his attachment to the Established Church, that he could not be candid or even kind in his remarks upon any sect, whose opinions, principles, or conduct seemed in any degree at variance with the interests of that much venerated Institution. His hatred to Unitarians, appears to have arisen chiefly from the fact, that many of the leading Unitarians in England happened to be Radical in Politics and hostile to the National Church as an Establishment. He was however too fond of the Mysterious and Incomprehensible to feel much sympathy or respect for so simple a system as that of the Unitarians. There was as much Platonism as Christianity in his creed.

Coleridge's statement of the mystery of the Trinity, is very characteristic. It is not easy to be understood. It deserves to be recorded, however, and to hold a place among the many ingenious expositions of the doctrine, which have been attempted. It is as follows:

"In the Trinity there is, 1. Ipseity. 2. Alterity. 3. Community. You may express the formula thus: —

God, the absolute Will or Identity, = Prothesis.

The Father = Thesis. The Son = Antithesis. The Spirit = Synthesis."

The curious and active mind of Coleridge intermeddled with all knowledge; yet he regarded all his miscellaneous acquirements as subsidiary to one great central object, namely, his "System of Philosophy." "In all my illness," he says, "I have ever had the most intense desire to be released from this life, unchecked by any but one wish, namely, to be able to finish my work on Philosophy." There are very frequent allusions in these Specimens to his "System" as the one great work, which it was his vocation and aim in life to accomplish. Singular delusion!—the notion that it was his mission to propound a complete and intelligible *system* of any kind, on any subject. He never did or could treat any subject systematically, though it was his ambition to systematize all things. His abstract ideas were all separate shreds, and in attempting to unite them he made disjointed patchwork. In fact, abstract reasonings of any kind were not suited to his mind, though he supposed that they were peculiarly so. He was an accurate and shrewd observer, a perfect describer, whether of real objects or the visions of his creative genius; hence his ability as a remarker and a critic, manifested in the Table-Talk; hence too, the excellence of his poetry, which is always vivid and clear, presenting perfect pictures in almost every line and word. But a reasoner he was not. A metaphysician he was not. When therefore he talks of his "System of Philosophy," he talks of what he never could have achieved, had he lived to twice the age of man.

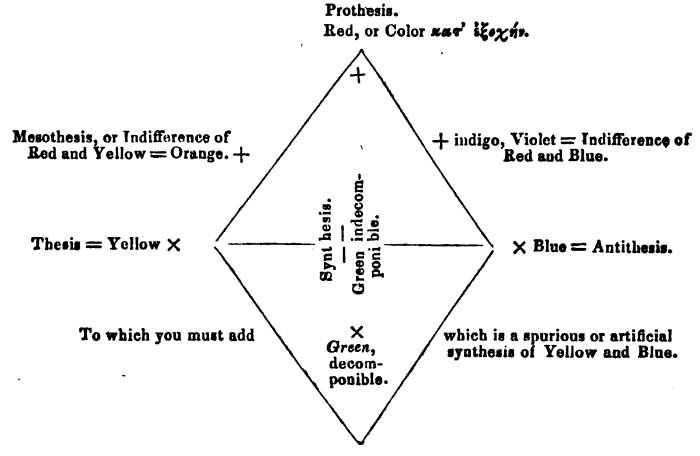
A short time before his death, he says, "The metaphysical disquisition at the end of the first volume of the 'Biographia Literaria,' is unformed and immature; it contains the fragments of the truth, but it is not fully thought out. It is wonderful to myself to think how infinitely more profound my views now are, and yet how much clearer they are withal. The circle is completing; the idea is coming round to, and to be, the common sense." How much like one of the old alchymists, who after many disappointments, delays, and failures, is sure, at length, that the experiment is in a fair train, that he is on the eve of the glorious result, that but a moment more is

needed; but alas, death interposes, and all is lost, and the world must remain in its ignorance.

It can hardly be hoped that Coleridge had set seriously about inditing the heads and chapters of his system, at least with any regularity of process or detail. If he had, we shall cordially hail the appearance of the fragments, — for fragments only can they be; and we shall value them, probably, as we do his other productions, not for any metaphysical excellence, or systematic philosophy, but for the richness of the illustrations, for the frequent outbreaks of the truest wisdom, for the separate gems of thought sparkling here and there through the folds of mist, and for the manifestations of a pure and elevated soul which we shall surely find in every page.

The volumes before us show that their author was fond of expressing his thoughts in technical formulas, with a show of logical precision and completeness. But these formulas we find are usually either frivolous or unintelligible. Witness that of the Trinity which we have already quoted. Also this: "The Trinity is the Idea: the incarnation, which implies the fall, is the Fact: the redemption is the Mesothesis of the two — that is — the Religion." (Vol. II. p. 136.) We cannot withhold the following, on a different subject, (Vol. II. p. 25.)

"Colors may be best expressed by a heptad, the largest possible formula for things finite, as the pentad is the smallest possible form. Indeed, the heptad of things finite is in all cases reducible to the pentad. The adorable tetractys, or tetrad, is the formula of God; which again is reducible into, and is, in reality, the same with, the Trinity. Take colors thus: —



With all our respect for the author we must pronounce this to be either sheer quackery, which however he could hardly be guilty of, or else silly and senseless affectation; and, not content with uttering the nonsense, he must needs illustrate it by a diagram!

A few words more we must say, in this connexion, of the alleged *obscurity* of Coleridge's productions. It is an old allegation, often urged and as often repelled. We shall venture to repeat it, though we are aware, we shall only give occasion to be ourselves reminded of our own superficialness, and to be told that the defect is in our own minds. When he writes upon any abstract point, metaphysically, or in his chosen capacity of philosopher, he is obscure; and that not merely from some infelicity or pedantry of expression, and not merely with reference to a comparative obtuseness or want of sympathy in other minds, but absolutely obscure, with an obscureness, that is, that supposes a want of clearness in his own mind, of completeness in his intellectual processes. Take the following,

"Let a young man separate I from Me as far as he possibly can, and remove Me till it is almost lost in the remote distance. "I am Me," is as bad a fault in intellectuals and morals as it is in grammar, while none but one — God — can say, "I am I," or, "That I am." — Vol. II. p. 141.

Perhaps some of the initiated may be ready to show us that there is some very simple and obvious truth contained herein; but can it be supposed, that if a man had in his mind a clear perception of some important principle, and wished to communicate it as a piece of practical advice to a young man, he would have addressed him in such mad-house style? We think not. Coleridge, we suppose, had some dim, undefined perception of some principle which he deemed important; and, being indistinct, it of course would not bear common, simple language; and he therefore sought some new mode of speech which should partake of the indistinctness of the idea, and so prevent the discrepancy between the thought and its dress, and save the writer from the consciousness of his own obscureness.

Bishop Butler in his "Analogy," is often said to be obscure; but his obscurity, if it may be called such, is totally different in kind from that of Coleridge. It consists in no strange words, or strange combinations of words, no oracular responses, no impalpable niceness of association, no defect in the chain of argu-

ment; that is, in no indistinctness in Butler's own mind, but the reader's imperfect power of attention. It is not the profoundness of a man's thoughts that makes them obscure. No man's thoughts are ever the more obscure for being profound. They require a greater power of abstraction, in order to be understood; but the language may be as plain, and the steps of the reasoning as easy and consecutive, as in the simplest matters, and thus the ideas be as clear in themselves. If a writer, having tolerable expertness in the use of language, and treating subjects of which the human mind has cognizance, cannot convey distinct ideas to a fair proportion of the intelligent and thinking minds of the age in which he writes, it is a fair, and we think a necessary inference, that he has not clear ideas on those subjects himself. It is true that a writer on abstract subjects cannot make himself intelligible to all persons who can read; but we think it may be laid down as a maxim, that the English language is an organ of thought sufficiently perfect to convey ideas, in themselves clear and defined, clearly and intelligibly to such other minds as are used to abstract thinking, and are conversant with the class of ideas intended to be conveyed.

The strong and very active philosophic imagination of Coleridge far outran his ratiocinating power, and for ever spurred him on to metaphysical enterprises disproportioned to his logical acumen and philosophical reach and comprehensiveness; and the result was — mysticism, — visions of half reality and half fancy, glimpses of sublime truth as through a deep fog hiding its form and outline, a ceaseless and ever-baffled striving after the *aliquid immensum infinitumque*, an ardent chase after some spiritual revelation which is playing gloriously before his mind's eye, but which, like the *ignis fatuus*, that bewildered travellers see in waste places, for ever eludes him, and he cannot lay hold of it. While we deny that the mysticism of Coleridge is attributable to any extraordinary depth or compass of thought, but to a poetic indefiniteness of intellectual operation, and while we do not believe that he was a philosopher in the large and complete sense in which he aspired to be one, yet we feel, that he is worthy of the reverence and love of all liberal minds, as a great and good man. He gives us no system, though he is continually promising one, but he does give us good things abundantly. In all his published works he pours forth high and excellent thoughts, interspersed indeed,

with the jargon of his non-existing system, and his affected metaphysics, yet there they are, in great profusion, poetic images of surpassing vividness and beauty, moral truths of everlasting moment, breathings of a gifted soul inspired and lifted up with the love of the good and true.

In conclusion we will only say, that, he who does not make acquaintance with the mind of Coleridge loses much, and that he, who takes it for his guiding spirit, suffers much harm; — that it is bad to follow and call him master in philosophy, but good to honor him and have much sympathy with him.

G. P.

ART. V. — *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, read at the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting, held in the City of Utica,* October 8th, 9th, and 10th. 1834. Boston: Crocker and Brewster. 8vo. pp. 176.

IN the year 1820, the first Christian Missionaries were sent to the Sandwich Islands to try, on a large scale and in a conspicuous station, the experiment of converting Heathen and Savages to the Religion of Christ. The eyes of the civilized world have been upon them; all wishing them success, and some auguring the happiest result from their labors, while others predicted their ultimate failure. The mission has within the last two years met with considerable reverses; and the occasion seems to be a fitting one to examine the course of proceedings of the missionaries and to lay before our readers an account, as we trust impartial, of all that they have accomplished, and all that they have attempted, but have failed to accomplish.

In order, however, to appreciate the task which they had to perform, the obstacles which opposed their operations, and the causes which favored them, it will be necessary to take a hasty view of the state of morals, civilization, and intelligence, and the general form of society in the Sandwich Islands at the time the missionaries arrived there, before we proceed to the history of the mission.

From the account given by Captain King, who accompanied Cook on his voyage of discovery, we infer that the inhabitants

of the Sandwich Islands, at the time he visited them, had thrown off one of the most disgusting and hideous features of barbarism, that is, they had ceased to be cannibals; but they still retained the practice of immolating their prisoners, and this practice was not abandoned for half a century afterwards; the morals of the people were very low,—thieving was very common, the women were not chaste, and the immoderate use of a drug, called *ava*, is described as producing effects very similiar to those arising from intemperance in the use of ardent spirits. Tamehamaha, sometimes called the Napoleon of the Sandwich Islands, prepared the way for an advance in civilization by uniting the whole group under one government; but, as the islands became more known to the civilized world, and were annually visited by an increasing number of foreign vessels, much was done to render the morals of the people more corrupt than at first. From various causes the population has continued to decrease ever since the first discovery; so that it is now only about 150,000, whereas it was estimated by Captain Cook to be 400,000. This effect, however, is not to be wholly ascribed to the intercourse of the inhabitants with foreigners; the crime of infanticide, according to the reports of the missionaries, prevails to a shocking extent, and would probably prevent at least the increase of population. In the Island of Cuba, where the same crime is common among the African slaves, it is found that, with all the vigilance a master can use to prevent the occurrence of it, the number of slaves on a plantation seldom or never increases. When we take into account, also, the numbers in the Sandwich Islands who perished in the wars of Tamehamaha, and the ravages of a pestilence which is described by the natives as having destroyed vast numbers, the diminution of population may in a great degree be accounted for by crimes or circumstances independent of foreign residents.

The morals of these islands at the time of the arrival of the first mission were frightfully bad. Sunk in the depths of ignorance and barbarity, obtaining an easy subsistence from the almost spontaneous productions of the soil, requiring little or no clothing, enervated by their climate and living in indolence, they had readily fallen into vices which had been introduced to a great extent by foreigners, many of whom are not less depraved, and but little more civilized, than themselves. The picture presented by the missionaries is one from which even

the boldest philanthropist might shrink in despair. Theft, adultery, murder occurring almost daily, the aged and the diseased exposed and abandoned to die of famine and exhaustion, infants trodden living into their graves by their mothers, and the distillery pouring out its poisonous stream, only increase the amount and the horrors of crime.

One of the most remarkable features in the social system of these islands is the existence of an aristocracy, — as proud, as exclusive, of as high pretension and as undisputed power, as any nobility that exists on earth; and, as far as we can perceive, of as pure blood. The chiefs of the Sandwich Islands appear to have almost unlimited control over the people; they take possession of the fruits of their labor; they command their services; and their power is submitted to apparently without a murmur. On the contrary, they appear to be regarded by the common people with reverence and admiration. The great influence of the chiefs will be found to have had an important bearing on the success of the mission.

Of most of the arts of civilized life they appear to be utterly ignorant. Their agriculture is limited principally to the culture of *taro*; and, although the soil and climate of the islands appear to be fitted for a great variety of productions, no attempt is made to take advantage of it. Their habitations are low thatched huts, consisting of only one room in which the whole family live together day and night. With less enterprise and less call for ingenuity in obtaining their subsistance than the North American Indians, they also appear, in consequence, more ignorant and degraded, though perhaps not inferior in the native powers of mind. The chiefs, as a body, are better informed, more intelligent, and approaching far nearer to civilization, than the mass of people.

It seems important also to say a word respecting the foreigners whose influence appears to have been very important with regard to the labors of the missionaries. As a class, it would be absurd to attempt to characterize them, since they present all the varieties from the intelligent, enterprising, and wealthy merchant, or agriculturist, down to the lowest, most degraded, and vicious inmate of the forecastle of a whaling-ship. Of the former class, the resident foreigners, Mr. Bingham speaks in a letter dated at Oahu, May 8th, 1833, as follows. "If the impression has gone abroad, through whatever channel, that the merchants at Honoruru" (the chief commercial

station of the Sandwich Islands) "are far worse than the merchants in the other parts of the world who make no pretensions to religion of any kind, and whose objects are gain and pleasure, it is an impression that ought to be corrected." Mr. Bingham then goes on to speak of numerous instances of kindness which the missionaries have experienced, both from these residents and from masters or supercargoes of trading vessels; he states, that "our intercourse with many has been pleasant," that they have "not unfrequently contributed to our means of support, and that, about the close of the last year, about two thousand dollars were raised by subscription for building a schoolhouse for the children of foreigners, whom Mr. and Mrs. Johnstone of our mission are now instructing, and where, since the 10th of January, we have been allowed to hold meetings for public worship in the English language, and where Mr. Deill," (the Seamen's preacher) "has commenced his labors with not only our approbation, but that of the gentlemen concerned in the building."* Upon the whole, however, there seems to have been no great friendship or intimacy between the foreigners and the missionaries; the suspicions of the King were excited against the mission previously to its arrival, as Stewart asserts, by the foreign residents; and their opposition is not unfrequently referred to as defeating its objects and diminishing its influence. From the sailors, and even in some instances from the masters of trading vessels, the missionaries received great ill-treatment, their resolute and effectual opposition to the prostitution of the women having gained for them, in many cases, a most honorable persecution. The life of the resident missionary at Lahaina was once threatened by a gang of infuriated wretches from one of the whaling-ships. Nor were the foreigners insignificant in numbers; it was not a chance vessel that now and then made trouble by touching at some one of the islands, nor a foreign settler here and there incorporated into the nation and lost in the numbers; the view given by Reynolds, in his "Voyage of the Potomac," will sufficiently show the importance of these islands to foreigners, and the numbers who resort to them.

"These islands," says he, "must always be places of interest in the Pacific Ocean, lying as they do between the tracks of vessels bound to China and the East Indies from the coast of California

* Missionary Herald, Vol. XXX. p. 111.

and the whole of South America. They are also important as places of refreshment for whalers, after their long and hazardous cruise to capture the leviathan of the ocean. All these circumstances tend to render the Sandwich Islands of peculiar interest to the navigator of the Pacific. What would the laborious whaleman do, after toiling five or six long months upon the boisterous Japan sea, in his daring pursuit, fatigued and out of fresh provisions, had he to toil his way to the coast of South America for refreshments and necessaries? At the Sandwich Islands they muster in numbers, and find wherewith to refit them once more for the dangers of their hazardous profession. Here too, the Northwest trader, after toiling and chasing the otter and seal on the bleak coast of America, finds a pleasant retreat in the winter months near at hand. Vessels bound across the Pacific, now a track so common, can often find the means to repair the disasters of the seas, without being compelled to put back, perhaps thousands of miles, or prosecute a voyage rendered dangerous by unforeseen events."

Of the foreign residents, Mr. Reynolds remarks,

"The foreign residents, as may well be supposed, are composed of people of all nations, the English and American predominating; and though there are a number of very respectable individuals settled at Oahu with commercial views, yet it is not to be denied, and no one can regret it more than we do, that the white population, generally speaking, are of the very worst order; among whom every thing like that decent restraint, which civilized society imposes upon its members, is at war with their vicious propensities, and of course resisted by them to the extent of their power."

Immediately before the arrival of the Missionaries at these islands an event of great importance to their success took place. This was no less than the abandonment, on the part of the King and the people, of the religion of their fathers. The idols were overturned and destroyed, the temples laid in ruins, the *tabu* withdrawn, the sacrifices and all religious rites abandoned, and worship no longer offered to divinities of any sort. The news of this event had not reached the United States when the first Missionaries sailed. And when they arrived at Owhyhee this joyful intelligence was the first that saluted their ears, assuring them that one most important portion of their contemplated duties was already accomplished, as it seemed, by the hand of God.

The circumstances which favored the missionaries, and the obstacles which opposed them, may then be summed up in a few words.

1. By securing the favor of the King and the chiefs, they were sure of gaining almost unlimited influence with the people at large.

2. By the voluntary abandonment of their religion on the part of the islanders, the way was prepared for the Missionaries to introduce a new one; while at the same time they were saved the formidable task of overthrowing a worship rendered sacred by the regard of past ages, or looked upon with veneration in the present.

On the other hand, the people whom they were to instruct were utterly ignorant and barbarous, and sunk in the most odious and hideous vices, the result of the combined depravity of savage and civilized life.

Moreover the determined resistance of the foreigners, both open and secret, in every form, to the influence of the missionaries, is to be considered a very great if not insuperable obstacle to their success.

This was the condition of things which waited the coming of the missionaries. The objects which they proposed to accomplish seemed to be ranged under three general heads.

1. To preach Christianity and through this religion bring about a better state of morals; and also through its influences to civilize the people.

2. To translate the Scriptures and prepare other books for the use of learners, in the language of the Sandwich Islands.

3. To establish schools, teach the people to read and write, and initiate them in the rudiments of arithmetic and some branches perhaps of science.

The thoughts naturally turn upon the chances of success which were open to the missionaries at the commencement of their labors. They had undertaken a great work, one for which men in ancient times had been worshipped as heroes and demigods, the introduction of letters and the civilization of a nation; but more than this, they had risen to the sacred office of the apostle and were to preach the religion of Christ in lands which had never before heard the tidings of salvation; they were to go among rude Heathen to prepare the way of the Lord where all was in darkness and error. We freely acknowledge the grandeur of their enterprise, — we esteem, as we ought, the self-sacrificing spirit and the courage with which they undertook it, and the perseverance with which they labored; our feelings have been touched with the recital of their

privations, dangers, and sufferings. We trust that in the account we give of their labors we shall be impartial. If they have failed, we believe it is not owing to want of exertion or a sincere wish to accomplish the great ends proposed; and while we distrust the means employed, and the whole course of proceeding, we still would express our belief in the uprightness, sincerity, and earnest devotion of the missionaries. Stewart and Ellis are honored names; their characters are, as we believe, above reproach. There is however, we are sorry to say, one exception to these remarks, — one who has held among the missionaries a high place of power and trust,— against whom, grave charges are laid; but we leave him for the present. We know not that similiar charges have been brought against any other missionary.

The first great object of the Missionaries was to christianize the nation, and thus lead them to civilization.

In the instructions given to the first reinforcement which sailed from New Haven, (and we are informed in "The Missionary Herald," that they were essentially the same as those given to the first missionaries,) we find this remarkable passage. "You will never give countenance to the popular error, that men must be civilized before they can receive the gospel." * The plan of operations is distinctly announced. Christianize first, and then civilization will follow. We acknowledge that there is a certain degree of attraction and splendor in thus overcoming the rudeness of a nation. The missionary is captivated by the recital of the immense results which succeeded the preaching of our Saviour and the Apostles, and he longs to follow in their footsteps; he would overcome the minds of men at once with the force of his own eloquence and the power of the Gospel. He would enjoy at once, if we may so express it, the romance of a mission among heathen. But he forgets that his preaching is not with power, as were the words of the great examples he would imitate; he forgets that the heathen of the times of our Saviour were not like the heathen of the present day, in the very lowest state of civilization or even sunk in barbarism. He forgets that it was in the gorgeous Temple of Jerusalem and on the Olive Mount of the holy city that our Saviour's voice was heard; that the words of the Apostle were addressed to the assembled wis-

* Missionary Herald, Vol. XVIII. p. 109.

dom of Greece, or the crowds that thronged the forum of the polished, proud, and imperial Rome. We believe the attempt to christianize a nation before it is civilized is an utterly hopeless one; but as our opinion may not be considered of much weight with the patrons of Missions, we will quote the remarks of the missionaries themselves upon this subject. In a letter published in the Boston "Atlas," August 20th, 1835, and dated at Malta, April 2d, 1835, we find the following remarks upon the missionaries at Constantinople, which the writer had visited recently.

"All those, whom I have seen, appear well-disposed, good men, and maintain by their conduct a name and reputation consistent with their profession. The idea of making converts is professedly abandoned by them all; and their labors seem now to be devoted to the instruction of the people, children principally; and to the publishing of the Bible in the language of the country. Mr. Goodel (the chief missionary) is a plain, straight-forward man, with no bigotry about him; and, having a good share of good sense, he conciliates the favor of all those with whom he has intercourse." Again, "'Young men,' says Mr. Goodel, 'come from America full of fire and enthusiasm, thinking they must run to the market-place and preach and seek to convert; but I tell them, that is all nonsense: they must labor and instruct the children; they must not run the risk of getting their necks broke; they must live, and not die for Christianity.'"

The experience of the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, seems also to confirm these views. We find in a joint letter from Messrs. Thurston and Bishop, dated at Kailua (in Hawaii) Oct. 15th, 1831, the following remarks, the heading of which by the editor of "The Missionary Herald" is "*Difficulty of introducing purity of morals among a barbarous people.*" *

"The habits and modes of life among the Hawaiians are such as peculiarly expose persons to temptations. And though there are many who are improving in civilized habits, still there is so little concern or watchfulness over one another, that persons are never suspected of being deceivers until the evil transpires. Their herding together in the same house at night, without partitions between them, men, women, and children upon the same mat; the unceremonious manner of intercourse between the sexes, without any forms of reserve, or any delicacy of thought and conversation;

* Missionary Herald, Vol. XXVIII. p. 221.

the idle habits of all, especially of the women, and their fondness for visiting from home at night; and above all the force of long established habits, which, after a season of efforts at reform, return upon them with almost resistless force; these, and their inexperience in resisting temptation, when it comes upon them, are some of the sources of so much irregularity among this people. It is long since we have set our faces against these practices as so many avenues to temptation."—"But we conceive the true secret of these evils lies still deeper, and cannot be effectually touched by any outward remedies which have as yet been applied. The total want of family government and discipline lies at the root of every other evil. The vagrant habits of children and members of every family, and the total disregard they show to the injunctions of their parents or others over them, is a melancholy proof of the low state of domestic discipline. Here begin those habits of moral delinquency which grow up and strengthen with their strength. Here then must begin the reforming influence, by introducing family government among their parents. This is an object to which, for some time past, we have been turning our attention. It is to a future generation we must look for proper examples of Christian character. Not that there will be no good examples among the present generation, for there are many already; but there is in those who appear the best, a certain want of quick moral sense of right and wrong, which is the result of their previous habits of life; a bluntness of perception which even grace does not wholly eradicate. Early education alone can instil those feelings of virtuous moral perception which distinguish the enlightened Christian from the untutored savage, and the want of which is so lamentable in the character of a Hawaiian."

These remarks we think will be found to support our position with sufficient distinctness. But the Board of Missions are not satisfied with having a few grand truths preached which belong to Christianity; their religion is not comprehensive enough to embrace Christianity under its various forms however sincere;—the pure doctrines of Calvin must be preached and no other. "Man's native sinfulness and wretchedness are to be exhibited," say the Prudential Committee in their instructions; "the pardon of sin is to be proclaimed; the love of Christ displayed; the atonement with all its blessings described; and the destinies of eternity presented to the mind."—"No other doctrines, no other moral process, but the preaching of these doctrines, will ever prove a remedy for the diseases of the soul."—"Describe the character of man as it is, depraved,

unholy, enslaved to sin; and you need not fear but its likeness will be recognised." *

To those who reflect upon the difficulty with which an uninstructed savage, accustomed to the gross worship of idols, and in whose notions of the character of a Deity moral virtues form no element, who has never risen even to the contemplation of morality in any form, would comprehend even the simplest truths of our religion, the idea of preaching to such a being the doctrines of Calvin with all their mysteries, palpable contradictions, and metaphysical evasions, will seem almost beyond the reach of any person in his senses. Yet such is the truth; such doctrines have been preached, with what success we shall soon perceive. We can hardly think without a smile of the mingled feelings of doubt, amazement, and perplexity, with which an intelligent savage would listen to men whom he is taught to regard as belonging to a superior race, when they are gravely announcing to him statements of this character. One of the missionaries remarks with uncommon *naïveté* upon the readiness with which their doctrines were received. "At the same time," says he, "it is not a little gratifying to witness the willingness with which they receive our instruction. There is no cavilling or questioning the truth of our doctrines." † What a pity that a little more of the same laudable submission to authority is not to be found in civilized nations!

The second grand object of the missionaries was to translate the Scriptures into the language of the Sandwich Islands, and also to prepare other books for the use of schools in the native tongue. Here again there is an imaginary splendor, which seems to dazzle and captivate the minds of these worthy men. The translation of the Scriptures has always been regarded a work of the first moment; the most learned and distinguished scholars have been employed upon it; and the young theologian is properly taught to regard it as the fitting occupation of the giants in his profession;— there is in this, as in the idea of converting thousands by the word, a mingling of romance, very natural and pardonable it is true, but somewhat adverse to a plain, business-like way of doing things. It seems to us hardly worth while to enter into an examination of the difficulty, or rather we might say, the impossibility, of making

* Missionary Herald, Vol. XVIII. p. 106.

† Missionary Herald, Vol. XXV. p. 315.

a correct translation from our own language into a foreign one, with which we have had but three or four years' acquaintance; yet we find the missionaries, after only four years' residence, commencing the translation of the New Testament into the language of the country. We ask, would any scholar of Cambridge at the end of four years' residence in the University attempt, with any feeling of confidence, to translate the Scriptures into Latin or Greek? Would any scholar of Andover even, where we are told Greek and Latin flourish, attempt such a work? To mention an instance of the difficulty of writing in a foreign language with correctness, any traveller who has visited the University of Cambridge, England, will remember the letters from Voltaire to Newton which are preserved in the Library, written in English. No Englishman, or American, can read them without a smile at the gross blunders they exhibit. Yet it is well known that Voltaire studied English long and profoundly, and prided himself upon his knowledge of it. We have been credibly informed, that the absurd mistakes made by the missionaries in Asia in their translations of the Scriptures have been the cause of much ridicule to the people for whom they were intended. We are therefore of opinion that the probabilities of making a good translation of the Scriptures into the language of the Sandwich Islands were against the missionaries. The books prepared for the schools consist of a Spelling-book, first and second parts; the rudiments of Arithmetic in a small volume; a collection of Hymns, either composed by the missionaries in the language of the country, or translated from the English; a Catechism; and a Geography.*

We do not object to the attempt to teach savages to read, if they can be made to understand any books when they have learned. It is possible that an intelligent person not yet civilized might, with considerable care and explanation, be made to comprehend a simple moral tale, or a chapter in natural history, if properly rendered in his own language; he might perhaps advance far enough in arithmetic to comprehend some of the practical questions; but extravagance never suggested a wilder scheme than that of putting a Bible or a hymn-book into

* These are mentioned as the principal works only; various other publications have issued from the Sandwich Islands press, but of less importance.

the hands of an unenlightened barbarian, with the smallest hope of his understanding it. It is not worth while to speculate upon such a question; we will adduce the words of the Missionaries. In an essay on the best practicable method of conducting native schools at the Sandwich Islands, read at the general meeting of the mission, June 13th, 1832, by Lorrin Andrews, principal of the High School at Lahaina, we find some remarks which have an important bearing on the subject under consideration. "The opinion is almost universally prevalent" (among the natives), "that the whole of instruction, and the benefit to be derived from it, consist in being able to read, or saying over the words in a book, or out of it, as the case may be, with very little, or no regard to the meaning." "To get ideas from what they read is no part of their school instruction; though now and then it seems that a sentiment contained in the school-books has made its way to the conscience." "It may be asked, if the native schools are so deficient, how has so much knowledge been communicated to this people? How have so many millions of pages been printed and circulated? How could so many hundred teachers be employed, and so many tens of thousands of scholars be enrolled in the schools? To all which it may be replied, that this shows there has existed, and does now exist, among the people, a great desire for instruction, which has not been denied." "But a great circulation of books does not prove *here* that the books are much understood. It is fully believed, that, were the mission to print off an edition of logarithmic tables, there would be just as great a call for it, as for any book that has been printed." *

Thus, even supposing the works which the missionaries undertook to translate to be faithfully and correctly done, it appears that they have produced little or no effect; and we may therefore safely pronounce the scheme of publishing the Scriptures, Hymns, and Catechism, and in general the works fixed upon by the missionaries for translation, an ill-judged and unproductive one.

We come now to the third branch of their labors, which was the establishment of schools throughout the islands, a less brilliant, but more patience-trying task than the two former; and we accordingly find the missionaries, at first, entering less

* Report, Appendix, pp. 159, 160.

eagerly into its details. Fortunately, with only two or three exceptions, they all had their wives with them, and female patience and assiduity were applied to the task; for, as Mr. Bingham very sagaciously remarked, female laborers were found not to be without use in the vineyard. As we have shown, however, we hope to the satisfaction of our readers, and from the confession of the missionaries, that the books published were entirely unsuited to the comprehension of the natives, we cannot perceive that any benefits could arise from teaching them to read. The scheme therefore of establishing schools, though in itself perhaps a good one, must, as forming a part of the general plan upon which the Missionaries proceeded, be regarded as vain and resulting in nothing.

It may be asked, and with reason, what should be taught in schools, if not reading and writing? If you approve of schools' being established, why object to the most common and simple branches that are usually taught in schools? The fact is, that many are led into error by the use of the word *school*; — it conveys to them no other idea than that of a school as existing in civilized nations, the room furnished with benches, the pupils sitting in silence and order, and the master presiding and hearing lessons recited. But it should be remembered that a school among savages is, or ought to be, a very different thing; it should rather assume the form of the workshop than the quiet room; it should be carried on in the fields as much as in the house, — it should be the scene for acquiring useful arts. There is no use in teaching people to read, if they are to have no intelligible books when they have learned, — nor to write, if they have no ideas to communicate. If savages are to be collected into school-rooms, as in civilized countries, it would be better to give them intelligible oral instruction than to teach them the spelling-book. The great object in this case should be to rouse the intellect, to waken the slumbering mind and induce activity. The mind that can never act for itself is not benefited by communicated knowledge; — the very first object, if we wish to impart ideas to a savage, should be to excite his mind to think; then, and not till then, may instruction be commenced to some purpose.

Finally, it seems natural to inquire beforehand of what nature the intercourse between the Missionaries and the resident foreigners would probably be. Supposing the latter (by these we mean the merchants established in the islands, not chance

visitors,) to be as Mr. Bingham describes them, without "pretensions to religion of any kind, whose objects are gain and pleasure." We may infer from what he says in addition, that they are much like merchants who are residing abroad anywhere, very good sort of men as the world goes, not over strict in some moral points, but fair in their dealings, and generally respectable in their deportment; of course their object is gain or pleasure, or they would not have left their homes. But they are, at any rate, as it is termed, men of the world; acquainted with human nature, accustomed to society and polished by their intercourse with mankind. To associate with these men comes a class as opposite to them as any thing human can well be, — men of stern and uncompromising morality and enthusiastic religion. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the Missionaries for their unyielding denunciation of the peculiar vices which were practised by the foreign residents and visitors, for their courage in preventing them, their perseverance in their system of morals, in spite of the odium and persecution which their conduct brought upon them. Still we are of opinion that a different mode of proceeding on the part of the Missionaries in their intercourse with the foreigners might, without compromising their high notions of moral duty, have won the esteem and friendship of the merchants, and brought them more under the influence of good morals, — or at least have prevented persecution on their part. To associate with these men of the world, comes the young graduate of the theological seminary, — turned upon the wide world in all the greenness of early years, — utterly ignorant of society, except as he has seen it in the University, or the Divinity school, his mind versed in little else than the lore of his profession, and still worse, imbued deeply with the peculiar tenets of Orthodoxy, "instructumque, non tam peregrinis artibus, quam disciplinâ tetricâ ac tristi," a little vain from the *éclat* which attended his departure from home, ardent and enthusiastic, "and thinking," as Mr. Goodel says, "that he must run to the market-place and preach and seek to convert;" verily such men are sent out as sheep in the midst of ravening wolves, and, not having the wisdom of serpents, they are too ignorant to be as harmless as doves, but do great harm to themselves and their cause, by their rashness and inexperience. True this is not the picture of all the Missionaries, — but we appeal to the Board of Missions itself if it is not a faithful representation of most of those whom they

have sent abroad. From the intercourse of two such opposite classes of men, what was to be expected but disagreeable collision and unkind feeling; intemperate zeal on the one hand, and unprincipled persecution on the other?

The first mission, consisting of seven gentlemen, all but one accompanied by their wives, arrived at the Island of Hawaii on the 31st of October, 1820. The King's suspicions had already been excited against them by foreigners, and he had been taught to believe that their visit had a political object. These suspicions seem however to have been speedily allayed; and Rihoriho became, and continued to the last, a firm friend of the missionaries, though occasionally outraging the lessons of morality which he received from them. The history of this King is well known; he sailed with the Queen for England in 1824, and both died soon after their arrival there, converts we believe to Christianity. It was found that Kiroah in Hawaii was not a suitable place for the greatest efforts of the Mission, and Mr. Bingham with two of the gentlemen went to Honoruru in Oahu, the principal port, and from that time apparently the head-quarters of the Mission. The others remained in Hawaii.

Houses were soon provided for the Missionaries, and land was granted them by the King to cultivate for their subsistence; preaching was commenced immediately, and a subscription was started to raise funds for building a church, which was speedily accomplished. The Mission had early the good fortune to gain the friendship of some of the most influential persons in these islands. The King Rihoriho, we have already mentioned; — there was also resident for some years at Honoruru, Tamoree, king of Atooi, who was remarkable for his kindness and liberality to the strangers.

The character of this chief, as drawn by Stewart, is extremely interesting. Held in a sort of honorable captivity by Rihoriho, he lived in dignified submission at a distance from his own kingdom, and died without recovering his freedom. He however was still in his own island when the Missionaries first arrived, and presented them with a valuable tract of land; — he was deprived of his kingdom, a short time afterwards. Keopuolani, mother of the King, Kaahumanu, one of the widows of Tamehamaha, and Karaimoku, a chief who had risen to the highest dignities by his talents, civil and military, were also the firm and unwavering friends of the Missionaries; and

to their countenance and support is owing in no small degree the success which attended for some years the labors of the preachers. Schools were very soon instituted, and, in 1822, a spelling-book was issued in the native language, from the press at Honoruru. The chiefs were the first to learn to read, and in February, 1822, sixty-five pupils were under instruction. They soon after consented to have the people instructed in the *palapala*, or reading, and the numbers of pupils increased with astonishing rapidity; so that in the course of two years more, that is in 1824, the number at the different stations amounted to six hundred; and at the commencement of 1827 to more than twenty-five thousand; so powerful was the example of the chiefs. There is little doubt, too, that the moderate exercise of mind required in performing the lessons of the schools was an agreeable relief from the tedium of idleness, which is so prevalent in these islands; at least till the novelty wore away.

In 1822, the first reinforcement of the mission arrived, when the calls upon the first adventurers for instruction and preaching were becoming more numerous than they could answer. Four other reinforcements were successively sent out, the last one having arrived in May, 1833; and the whole number of persons connected with the Mission finally amounted to fifty-nine. As the numbers increased, new stations were gradually formed in the various islands, where churches were built, and the word preached, and schools taught, till the influence of their labors was felt, in some degree at least, in every island of the group. Among the most effective of those who came to aid them was the Rev. William Ellis, an English gentleman, who had been for many years a resident Missionary at the Society Islands. He arrived at the Sandwich Islands in the spring of the year 1822, on his way to the Marquesas; but finding a wide field of usefulness open to him, he determined to give up the farther prosecution of his voyage, and to remain there. His aid was of the greater importance from the circumstance of his being familiar with the language of these islands, which is essentially the same as that of the Society Islands. The missionaries at the time of his arrival, not having become sufficiently acquainted with the language to use it freely, had been obliged to preach by the aid of an interpreter; one or two having been brought from the United States for the purpose.

In 1824 the great work of translating the Scriptures was

commenced; and it has been continued from year to year, with unremitted care and frequent revision, up to the time of the last report, when the whole of the New Testament, the book of Deuteronomy, parts of the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua, and twenty-three of the Psalms, had been translated and printed. We have already seen that a spelling-book was prepared, and a number of copies issued for the use of schools, in 1822; the whole edition of 3,000 copies was published in 1824, and an edition of the Hymn-book of 2,000 copies was also published the same year. In 1826, the number of copies of hymn-books, spelling-books, and tracts amounted to 74,000.

Meantime preaching was carried on with very remarkable effect, as far as regards the number of churches, and the large congregations which crowded into them. Large and expensive houses of worship were early erected in Oahu, Hawaii, and Maui; and generally there seems to have been a great readiness on the part of the chiefs and people to build churches wherever the Missionaries saw fit to establish their stations. In the sermon which Mr. Bingham preached to the reinforcement who arrived in the Parthian, in May, 1828, he announces that the number who compose the various congregations amounts to 12,000. Much religious excitement appears to have prevailed at times. In Mr. Bishop's journal, we find the following account. "Went ashore at Kaalepuluhulu to get refreshment. I had scarcely seated myself when I was surrounded by a number of persons who came to inquire about the concerns of their souls. Several of them had recently returned from Kairua, where religion is now the great concern; and it is hoped that some of them have been brought to see their needy and lost condition." * A young man in Tuai is also spoken of as distressed for his soul. Coming to the missionary, "he pointed to the passage in Luke xvi. 24, and said, 'Here is my load; oh my soul, to that unquenchable fire I fear it must go.' His voice and whole frame were now so agitated as to render him unable to articulate." † With the establishment of churches and the gathering of congregations came a strict observance of the Sabbath, — quite as much so, we should judge, as the most rigid could require at home.

* Missionary Herald, Vol. XXV. p. 147.
† Missionary Herald, Vol. XXVI. p. 10.

Meetings for religious purposes were also very frequently held; there were two services on Sunday, and one every Wednesday, in the church. Catechetical meetings were held on Thursday. The females of the Mission assembled with the native females for worship on Fridays, and a prayer-meeting was held every Saturday evening; besides these, associations were formed at Lahaina, Kairua, in Hawaii and Honoruru for "the purpose of prayer and religious improvement;" the males holding their meetings on Tuesdays. Ten thousand individuals are said at one time to have belonged to this association. The account given by the missionaries, of these meetings, is as follows; they are called by the natives *tabu* meetings "because it is tabu for any to attend who are immoral, or who do not profess to be under the influence of the Scriptures. This tabu, in the opinion of the people, adds great importance and sacredness to the meetings, and we have a strong hold on those who attend, that we have not on others. This feeling of veneration for the meetings on account of their being tabu is often carried to great excess, and among the more ignorant is real superstition. They think them to be the one thing needful, not because of the instruction communicated, but because they are tabu."* Such were some of the means employed by the Missionaries to effect their purposes. We have thus seen, that religious meetings were held five days in a week besides Sundays, and, the Monthly concert coming on Mondays, all together might afford some warrant for the charge brought against the Missionaries by travellers, of taking up too much of the time and attention of the natives in religious exercises.

The Missionaries however do not attribute the eagerness displayed by the people to attend public worship entirely to a feeling of devotion. There were great attractions to the mob in the magnificent parade of the chiefs, who always went to church arrayed in their gaudiest dresses, and with as much pomp and show as possible. This is repeatedly assigned by the Missionaries as the principal if not the only motive with vast numbers, for going to church.† Still, considerable num-

* Missionary Herald, Vol. XXVII. p. 181.

† We cite, for the amusement of our readers, Stewart's humorous description of the parade on Sunday.

"On the sabbath the real state of the people struggling from barbarity to civilization, is more observable than at any other time. Any one of the fabled beings represented as half man and half beast would

bers professed to be deeply penetrated with a sense of religion, so that more than six hundred finally were admitted to the communion of the Lord's supper. Of these, some were afterwards suspended, or excluded from the table, on account of their lapses from the path of morality, — but comparatively few.

Neither is the love of learning to be assigned as the sole motive with such vast numbers for attending the schools. A powerful stimulus was found in the circumstance, that those, who excelled sufficiently to be appointed teachers of schools, rose immediately to a degree of respectability and importance

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be an appropriate emblem of the present national character; and an emblazoned *Centaur*, would, in the view of a herald, furnish his Hawaiian Majesty with a very intelligible coat of arms. — Recollecting of how late a date the first improvements here are, there is certainly much to admire; but more, in one sense, *at which to laugh*. The fact is conspicuous to the simple looker-on, in nothing more than in dress; — the variety and grotesque mixture of which is indescribable. The King, Queens, Prince and Princess, and all the highest chiefs, are at church, always well, and often richly and fashionably dressed. But when grouped, which is always the case, with the *Royal Guards* and the several retinues of the chiefs, they present a most incongruous and ridiculous spectacle. The dress of the *guards*, which is intended to be a '*uniform*,' appears to be the cast-off regimentals of half a dozen different nations, and, I had almost said, of as many different centuries. Some suits, I think, bear strong evidence, *primâ facie*, of having passed through the honorable hardships of the *Revolutionary War;* and I have been half tempted to recognise, in others, the parade clothes of the '*Bowerstown Artillery*,' the objects of general admiration, when, as a boy, I first visited the wilds of Otsego. You may judge how these, or the *like* would appear, — a coat and cocked hat, for instance, on a native '*sans culotte*'; or a hat and pantaloons without a coat or shirt, or a hat and shirt alone; all of which varieties may be seen. Some of the officers, however, appear very well, in full new suits of blue, with lace and epaulettes of gold. — There is sometimes, also, an odd mixture of materials in the dress of the chiefs; for example, a rich suit of Canton crape, satin, or silk velvet, with a sailor's check, or red flannel shirt, and particolored woollen cap, and perhaps one coarse stocking and shoe. I have seen a female of high rank, and monstrously large, going to church in a loose slip of white muslin, with thick woodman's shoes, and no stockings, a heavy, silver-headed cane in her hand, and an immense French chapeau on her head! On Sunday too, there is a display of *equipage*, not seen every day. The chapel being near half a mile from the village, some of the grandees ride to church; their carriages, to be sure, belong to the '*birth-day of invention*,' — especially the state coach of the late king, which, I presume, was once a *tinker's wagon*. Kaahumanu and Taumuani always come in this."

which they could gain in no other way. The chiefs had already encouraged the progress of learning by their own influence and example. They had been the first to avail themselves of the opportunity of learning the *palapala*, at the same time excluding the people; and when, a short time afterwards, a general permission was given to attend the schools, it was received as a high favor, — it seemed, in some degree at least, to elevate the people towards the high standing of the chiefs; and those, who became teachers, reached a station which entirely satisfied their ambition; so that we find that they evinced very little interest in the advance of their pupils. It was the rank of teacher which they coveted, not the duties.

There is no doubt, we believe, that for a time the missionaries effected much in improving the morals of the people. Severe laws were enacted and enforced against murder, adultery, theft, drunkenness, and the sale of ardent spirits. Indeed we need no better proof that a great change was wrought, than the exasperation manifested on numerous occasions by the masters and men of whaling-vessels; three assaults were made at different times, upon the person of Mr. Richards at Lahaina by these men, who were disappointed of their expected revelry by his influence and unshrinking adherence to his duty. Temperance societies were formed, embracing large numbers, and even the use of tobacco to a very large extent was abandoned in consequence of the exhortations of the missionaries. We would do full justice to these efforts to bring about a better state of morals, and the success which attended them; for we believe they accomplished no small task; and could this improvement have been rendered permanent by the spread of a rational and intelligible religion, the Sandwich Islands might have had cause to the latest day to bless the name of the missionaries.

In the volume of "The Missionary Herald" for 1833, the editor gives a summary of the results brought about by the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands up to that time; the correctness of which we have no reason to doubt. He states,

"That the language of the Sandwich Islands has been reduced to writing, — that printing-presses have been put into operation upon the islands, — that the New Testament and some parts of the Old, and a number of other small, but important works have been printed in the native language, — that some hundreds of schools have been instructed

by native masters, — that many thousands, (more than 50,000 in all we believe) of the natives have been taught to read, and not a few to write, — that a considerable portion of the highest chiefs and some hundreds of the common people belong to the Christian church, — that the influence of the government has been decidedly on the side of piety, — that large buildings have been erected by the natives for the worship of God at the several missionary stations, in which large congregations assemble on the sabbath, — that the cause of temperance has made great progress, — and that indeed a great and wonderful change has been effected."*

We have thus endeavoured to give an impartial view of what the missionaries accomplished in these islands, and of the means employed by them; and we have cited the words of those who would be ready to claim the most for them, in our statement of the amount and success of their efforts. Let no one, however, form a false estimate of the state of things. All that the Editor of the Missionary Herald states in the important passage which we have just cited may be literally true; and yet incorrect notions may be formed from perusing it, which it is our duty to correct.

In the first place, as we have already shown, from the account given by the missionaries, little or nothing is understood of the various works prepared for the use of the natives; so that a table of logarithms would probably be as eagerly sought for and read by them as any work that has been published. But even of those which have been printed, by no means all are generally read. "Probably," says Mr. Andrews in his account of the schools, drawn up in 1832, "one half of all the schools on the Islands have at this day nothing to read but the *Pia pa*." The *Pia pa* is the child's Spelling-book.

Secondly, though "some hundreds of schools have been instructed by native masters," it will be seen by the account given in the same report, that their instruction does not, and cannot, amount to much. "Their literary qualifications were of course exceedingly scanty. At the time schools first spread over the islands, the *Pia pa* (at first sixteen pages, but reduced in the second edition to eight pages), and the hymn-book, were the only books that existed in the native language; and the latter has, it is believed, never been used very extensively as a school-book. The *Pia pa*, therefore, in most cases was all they could teach, for it was all that they knew. And

* Missionary Herald, Vol. XXIX.

it is remarkable, that the teachers have shown very little skill in teaching themselves; in other words, have added nothing of consequence to their stock of knowledge by their own exertions. With just the qualifications they had when they commenced so they continue from year to year; unless indeed they return for a time to the missionary stations, and again attend a school taught by some missionary. Generally poor readers when they commence teaching, they continue so from year to year, without apparently making the least progress in the art of reading; and so in other things." "The indolence or unfaithfulness of teachers does much to counteract what might be done in our native schools. Authority and indolence on these islands are almost inseparably connected. A school-teacher is vested with a little authority, and hence cannot stoop to the minutiæ of school-teaching. This shows itself in want of care and faithfulness in attending to the real improvement of the scholars. Whether the scholars hold the book one end up, or the other, or sideways, or whether they have no book at all, or whether they skip over or miscall words, seems to be no matter of interest to them. And this too, when the one employed knew how to correct, and how to teach. To pass away the time, or to get through the lessons, seems to be the only object. A school is a school with them, whether any thing be learned or not. In this manner schools have been known to exist for two or three years in succession and never get beyond the *Pia pa.* This results from ignorance as to the method of teaching, and the great indolence of the teachers, for which they have frequently been reproved by the missionaries. But improvement in this respect is scarcely visible."

To remedy the deficiences in the native teachers, a High School for their instruction was established at Lahaina; but, at the time of the last report, it was only "struggling into existence," and no effects could be so soon expected from it.

Thirdly. Of that "considerable portion of the highest chiefs," and "the hundreds of the common people," who belong to the Christian Church," the missionaries speak thus, in their general letter, dated July 1st, 1833. "It is remarkable that the more we become acquainted with this people, — the more we search the motives which actuated them, — the more we become acquainted with their objects of pursuit and the ends used to obtain them, — the more we come in contact with

them as it relates to their manners, modes of thinking and judging, the wide difference between what they consider the chief good, and the chief good of the Bible; the less we are disposed to trust their professions of penitence, their love to the Saviour, or their real desire to obey his commands." Equally hopeless is the state of religion among the congregations at large. In the volume of "The Missionary Herald" for 1833, the editor uses these triumphant words in speaking of the Sandwich Islanders. "*They are a Christian people.** Christianity has preceded civilization and is leading the way to it." Yet unfortunately, in the very same volume, in the Journal of Messrs. Dibble and Green, missionaries at Hilo, appears the following unlucky sentence, as if written on purpose to spoil his triumph. "As to the multitude, they are without feeling, without serious reflection, and without thought. Their minds are dark, their hearts insensible. *They are Heathen.*" †

Finally; hitherto the mission had constantly received the support of the government; and, as the last report states, "The churches, schools, teachers, and the whole system of religious order and influence leaned, in no small degree, upon the government, the authority of which was freely employed to sustain them." But one by one the firm and powerful friends of the mission were summoned away; Rihoriho, Tamoree, Karaimoku, Naihe, Keopuolani were gathered to their fathers; and last of all, the only remaining person who had the authority as well as the desire to sustain the missionaries, their long-tried and firm friend, Kaahumanu, died. It was almost a fatal blow to the success of the enterprise.

"It soon became known," says the Report, "that the highest chief (the young king) had relaxed the reins of moral duty, and everywhere the effect was such as might have been expected. There was a falling off in the schools and in the congregations. The Sabbath began to be profaned by sinful recreations. Not a few resumed their old habits of intemperance. Some of the members of the church fell, and the love of others waxed cold. In short, it became painfully obvious, that there had been a lamentable change in the moral influences which have for years been operating upon the nation." ‡

Accounts now began to be received from almost every station,

* Missionary Herald, Vol. XXIX. p. 21.
† Ibid. p. 60.
‡ Report, p. 87.

of the relapse of this people into immorality and indifference to religion; the numbers in the schools diminished, a portion of the church at Kailua abandoned the faith, others at Hilo, embracing idolatry. "There are some strong indications," say the missionaries, "at the present time of a retrograde march. Our schools, especially at Oahu, have suffered." "Unless God interfere with a strong hand and stretched-out arm and save the people, we have much reason to fear that an overwhelming majority will turn away from all means of grace, and, in one broad phalanx, push their way to perdition." "The lower classes are a mass of corruption, — a great majority of them have gone back to their old habits, and their goodness has passed away like a morning cloud."*

Such is the state of things in the Sandwich Islands, according to the latest accounts afforded by the missionaries themselves. What then becomes of the boast of "The Missionary Herald," about the volumes that have been printed, the hundreds of schools, and the thousands of scholars, the gathering of congregations and churches, the support of government, and the improvement of morals? Alas! these have passed away like the morning dew.

It is worthy of remark, that the failure of the enterprise is distinctly announced, in the report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for the last year. The passage to which we allude, runs as follows.

"And here it might, with some appearance of reason, be asked, — Is it, on the whole, a matter for rejoicing, or regret, considering the unpreparedness of the churches for such an event, that the entire nation of the Sandwich Islands was thrown at once upon the hands of the Christians in the United States? it was, as if China, with all its millions, should now be thrown, in the same manner, upon the Protestant churches of America and England. The churches had not zeal enough, nor experience enough, nor men enough disposed to enter the harvest in so remote a field; nor did the churches perceive the length and breadth of their duty involved in the remarkable developements of such a providence in the Sandwich Islands; nor were they prepared for the amazing exigency growing out of a national abjuration of idolatry by the mere authority of government. And it is to be feared that the churches are not yet prepared to appreciate their duty in such circumstances; and perhaps God, in his infinite wisdom, may see fit to

* Missionary Herald, Vol. XXX. pp. 286, 287, 372.

allow the harvest, which we might have reaped at the Sandwich Islands, but for our criminal unfitness and backwardness, to be in a measure wrested from us, or at least greatly delayed, that we may learn wisdom for the future, and become better prepared to be co-workers with him in those more glorious manifestations of his power which we are encouraged to expect in these latter days. As it regards the mission, the events that have been referred to are undoubtedly favorable in the following respects, viz.

"1. In checking the tendency to rely on human power, and promoting a dependence upon God, and of course a spirit of prayer in the missionaries and their patrons.

"2. In counteracting the strong tendency to hypocrisy which there is found to be among the common people. And

"3. By directing the attention of the missionaries more to the necessity of laying deep and permanent foundations for the religious institutions of the Islands." *

Thus a whole nation is to be abandoned, for no one knows how long, to the dominion of Satan, for the instruction of the missionaries and the Orthodox churches of America!

Argument to prove the inadequacy of means to the end proposed, is unnecessary, when such confessions as these are made; and we have only to mourn, with the Board of Missions, over hopes delayed and objects unattained, over the vain expenditure of thousands and the bootless exile of so many men and women from their homes to no purpose; in a word, over the utter failure of their plans for introducing Christianity, civilization, or better morals into these islands.

We come now to the examination of an affair, which has a very different character from all the proceedings of the mission which we have thus far detailed; we mean the expulsion of the Catholic priests from these islands. We give, first, the account of the transaction as it stands in Reynolds's "Voyage of the Potomac."

"Some time before the arrival of the Potomac, a few Spanish Missionaries of the Catholic faith came from the coast of California with the view of establishing a school and church for the benefit of the heathen islanders. They were men of learning, and agreeable manners and conversation; and in all their acts and behaviour, appeared sincerely pious. They brought with them funds enough to raise suitable houses, and soon learned the language so as to converse with the natives. Pleased with their manners and in-

* Report, pp. 87, 88.

structions, the natives came in numbers to be taught by them; so that the school and place of worship began to be crowded. They followed the course of instruction, in some degree, laid down by the American Missionaries; and never attempted to draw the natives to themselves, except by amiable aud kind deportment. Indeed, they were exemplary in all their actions. But their success was too great, and they were ordered to discontinue their worship. At first they refused, and informed the authorities, that theirs was also the worship of the same God with the American Missionaries, — the forms alone were different. But all this was of no avail. The natives were forced from their houses of worship by native soldiers, ordered by authority! Things became serious. The natives wished still to attend the new comers; but this was prohibited. The Missionaries were ordered to depart; and finally were compelled, with threats of personal violence, to leave their labors and the island, and go on board a little rickety vessel belonging to one of the chiefs, in which they were conveyed to the coast of California, and there inhumanly set on shore, in a barren spot, and distant from any settlement. This is not all. The California Missionaries were not only forcibly compelled to forego all their benevolent intentions, and labors of love, but at the time of the Potomac's arrival at Oahu, some forty natives, men, women, and children, were confined at hard labor, on a coral wall which was then erecting, of several miles in extent, in the country, and were not allowed to visit the town. One woman was seen with an infant on her back, bearing large stones in her arms for building this wall! And this punishment was inflicted because they were Catholics, and would not change their religion for that of the Missionaries of the Islands.

"At the conference previously alluded to between Commodore Downes and the authorities, this subject was introduced; when the Commodore, in a mild, though decisive tone, explained to the chiefs and queen regent, that in England, in the United States, and other countries, persons were not punished for their religious opinions; and that Catholic countries might not view with indifference such cruel treatment of Catholics; that a bitter spirit of persecution was not sanctioned in any enlightened country, and ought at once to be abolished. There were few present at this interesting conference who will soon forget the apparent reluctance with which Mr. Bingham, head of the Mission, interpreted this liberal and truly Christian advice; and that in apparent justification of the authorities, he instanced Spain as a country that would not admit of toleration! The Commodore's remarks seemed to break, like new light, upon the minds of the chiefs; and the release of

the unhappy sufferers for 'conscience sake' followed immediately afterward." *

The Missionaries give the following account of the same affair, in their joint letter, dated Honolulu, January 17th, 1832.

"You have heard of the disastrous enterprise in which Boki and Manuia embarked soon after the visit of the United States ship Vincennes, and the loss of Manuia and most of his crew, and the almost certain loss of Boki and his crew and vessel, and the consequent change of government in this island. You are aware also, that subsequently to those changes, the government ordered the Jesuits to leave the island within three months, or be liable to be treated as strangers in other countries, who refuse to comply with the laws or who render themselves obnoxious to government." "The three months expired and the chiefs waited till the fall ships

* In connexion with Reynolds's account of the persecution of the Catholics, it may not be uninteresting to our readers to examine a specimen of literary ingenuity cited by him, which is almost without a parallel. It is a translation or paraphrase of Heber's Missionary Hymn. The second stanza, which relates particularly to the subject, we give first in Heber's own words, then as rendered into the Sandwich Islands' language, and finally a literal translation into English of the latter.

Heber's hymn.	*Sandwich Islands' language.*
What though the spicy breezes	Auwe na lahuiaina
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle,	O na akua e !
Though every prospect pleases,	Ka make o na aina
And only man is vile ;	I kulou i ke kii :
In vain with lavish kindness	Ko Aferika pouli !
The gifts of God are strown,	Ko Asia naaupo !
The heathen in his blindness	Ko Mahomeda pule !
Bows down to wood and stone.	Ko Roma hewa hou !

Literal translation of the above.

Wo to the people
Of strange gods
Who adore idols ;
The perdition of nations,
The Africans in darkness,
The Asiatics in ignorance,
The Mahometans and
The Romans returned to their wickedness.

If all the translations from the English into the language of the Sandwich Islands are made with similar exactness and fidelity, they must indeed form a valuable literature. We have heard much of the talents and learning of Jesuits ; but we doubt if they ever produced any thing to be compared with the above specimen.

arrived and sailed again, some to England, some to the United States, and some to other coasts. They then fitted out the brig Waverley, one of their own vessels, and, on the 24th of December, sent her, with the two Jesuits on board, to the coast of California at the expense of a thousand dollars."*

It will be observed that this account, given by the missionaries, agrees in all the essential particulars, as far as it goes, with the history of the transaction by Reynolds. The missionaries, however, with singular modesty refrain from showing that they had any participation in the affair. The editor of "The Herald," however, does them more justice in his remarks.

"The facts concisely stated," says he in the same connexion, "appear to be these. The Jesuits were four years in Oahu, so that the intelligent chiefs had an opportunity to gain some correct notions of their religious opinions and rites. The chiefs also satisfied their minds, *by conference with their Protestant teachers*, by reading a translation of Mr. King's simple and excellent letter to his Maronite Roman Catholic friends in Syria, and by examining the portions of the word of God in their own language, — that all sorts of idol worship were utterly at variance with the letter and spirit of Christianity, and that the opinions and ceremonies of the Romish Church were, in general, contrary to the Scriptures; and they regarded the introduction of the papal religion among the people, as little better than a revival of the baleful superstitions from which they had been so recently disenthralled."†

O rare and happy results of Orthodox education! Under the blessed influences of which, the barbarous chiefs of a nation of savages were able, in four years, to form "correct" notions upon a subject which has occupied the lives of many of the wisest and best men in civilized lands without being exhausted, — to decide that a form of religion, embraced and defended by Pascal, and Massillon, and Fenelon, and Cheverus, is "at variance with the letter and spirit of Christianity," "contrary to the Scriptures," and little better than the "baleful superstitions" of the most degraded heathenism!

We leave it to any impartial reader, whether the term Jesuit be more suitably applied to the Catholic priests, or to the writer of the last cited paragraph.

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* Missionary Herald, Vol. XXVIII. pp. 351, 352.

† Ibid. p 352.

Nothing is said in the Journal of the missionaries of the persecution of the natives for embracing Catholicism; this part of the story is wisely kept out of sight; we are not aware, however, that the account given of it by Mr. Reynolds has been contradicted in any of the Orthodox publications, and we are obliged to conclude that it is true. Mr. Bingham speaks of visiting a number of the natives who were at work upon a wall in the neighbourhood of his station, from whom he met with rather a cold reception, as they refused to have any conversation with him. They had been under the instruction of the Catholics. He asked them if they knew how to read; they answered that they did not; they also replied in the negative to his question, if they did not wish to learn. From his account of the interview we infer that these poor savages, who probably believed that the expulsion of their instructers was owing to his influence, were quite inclined to cut his acquaintance. He retired, exclaiming "O dreadful delusion!" "to be the willing slaves of ignorance, without the desire or means of knowing the truth! How dreadful to have the author of eternal truth send upon us strong delusions, that we may believe a lie and be damned, because we receive not the love of truth. I rode home, *with some feelings, I hope, of compassion* for these deluded pagans, who had now been led apparently to hate the only light that shines in this dark world to give the knowledge of the glory of God."*

It may be doubted whether the feeling of compassion was uppermost in the mind of the missionary! We strongly suspect, that the natives whom Mr. Bingham visited upon this occasion were the persecuted individuals, whom Mr. Reynolds describes as condemned to work upon the king's wall; and it is not difficult in this case to imagine that they should listen with some coolness to his questions.

The credit of this persecution is generally, and, as we believe, justly, ascribed to Mr. Bingham. The Catholic missionaries established themselves in the neighbourhood of his station, there prosecuted their labors, and continued there, till forcibly removed; besides this, whatever influence the government received from the "*Protestant teachers*," and judging from the remarks of the editor of "The Missionary Herald," it cou.d not

* Missionary Herald, Vol. XXVIII. p. 353.

have been small in this case, must have come from Mr. Bingham, as his station was at the seat of government, and he was, by far, more in the habit of intercourse with the authorities than any other missionary. Besides this, we are told in the account above cited from the "Voyage of the Potomac," that he apparently justified the persecution, and was very reluctant to interpret to the king the truly liberal and Christian-like remarks of Commodore Downes.

Till he or his friends shall make it appear that these charges are unjust, there must rest a stain upon his reputation which the profession of a missionary is not enough to remove.

We have thus demonstrated we trust to the entire conviction of all impartial readers, from the documents of the missionaries and their friends, that the enterprise has proved totally unsuccessful. Never was a similar attempt apparently made under more favorable circumstances; never was a people more manifestly prepared by the hand of Providence for the reception of Christian teachers; never were the means more readily supplied, or the laborers cheered by more hearty sympathy and good wishes. Yet never was failure more signal. It appears from the last report of the Board of Commissioners as well as the Journals of the missionaries for two or three years past, that the means employed have been totally inadequate to the ends proposed; large sums have been expended, and a vast amount of privation and suffering has been endured, to no purpose. We have labored to set forth these facts because they teach us the important lesson, that Christianity and civilization are not to be imparted to barbarous nations by sudden and violent means, but, on the contrary, are a work of time, — to be gently inculcated among successive generations, gradually but surely extending their influence; that the young are to be instructed rather than adults; and that the introduction of the various arts of civilization are necessary to prepare the way for Christianity.

H. R. C.

ART. VI.—*Philip Van Artevelde; a Dramatic Romance, in Two Parts.* By HENRY TAYLOR, Esq. Two Volumes, 16mo. Cambridge and Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1835.

THE publication of this poem in this country was preceded by such high encomiums from the leading Reviews of Great Britain, that it was impossible that its reception amongst us should be unprejudiced and impartial; and if, notwithstanding the first feeling of disappointment from this cause and the detection of some faults in the work which we were not prepared to see, we have yet risen from its perusal with a conviction that it is a work of rare beauty and power, there can be no doubt that it well deserves this character. It is a very daring work, and risks failure in every way by attempting to unite every variety of composition in one piece. It passes from the stern to the tender, from the lofty to the pathetic, and strikes all the changes of the heroic, the lyric, the dramatic, and the descriptive, the didactic, and the familiar. No young author ever made his beginning in a bolder and more venturesome enterprise, or by his first attempt secured a more dicided claim to be esteemed a writer of high and diversified talents, whose fame is already sure. We are glad to see it republished here, and in a style more worthy of an elegant author than it is sometimes our lot to witness. We shall be yet more glad to learn, that our countrymen can find leisure, amid the distracting bustle of over-active prosperity, to buy and read it.

Until this work appeared, it seemed to have become a settled opinion with many, that the age of poetry, like that of chivalry, was gone; that the world had outgrown its love of sweet song, or, as some would say, had put it away with its other childish things; and it was soberly argued, that not only had the inspiration departed with the departure of the few great bards, but that the taste had become extinct. Yet we suppose that what was taken as proof of decay, was in fact nothing more than a symptom of exhaustion. How should we expect the world to appear after the vehement and maddening poetical excitements of the last twenty-five years? The history of the world can probably furnish no parallel to the poetical glory of that distinguished period; and nothing was more natural than that, at its passing away, it should leave all the con-

sequences of an over-stimulated and jaded feeling. The people who had been for a quarter of a century accustomed to the daily exhibitions of passion, eloquence, truth, and philosophy, displayed in all their most attractive and fanciful forms by such masters of human nature and the English tongue as then filled the world with their discourse, could not readily listen to their imitators and successors. Many of these brought forward works, which, as Southey said of Ebenezer Elliott, the corn-law poet, would have made them famous, if not immortal, half a century ago;* but they came upon the stage like some fine though inferior singers, when the ear has been ravished and the soul filled to its utmost capacity of enjoyment by the almost supernatural exertions of voice and expressions of passion from some master genius. They could gain no hearing. They sunk for want of an audience. Thus it was that every body began to talk of "the decline of poetry"; as if, because the appetite was satisfied, no more food could be prepared. It was even alleged that the art could never be restored to its former place of reputation. But they who asserted this forgot, that poetry is one of the natural expressions of human feeling. There is a native want of the soul to which it is addressed; and it can no more become unpopular or extinct, than oratory or song. Certain forms of it may languish; of its temporary fashions the world may grow weary; but, let the fashion change (it will be changed to a certain extent by every truly great poet), and the taste will revive. What astonishing differences between Pope and Cowper, or between Cowper and Byron; and again, in the great constellation which is just going out, how totally unlike to each other are every two that

* How often have we occasion to remark, that it is not genius or excellence alone which can secure fame; accidental circumstances have much to do with a man's celebrity. The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; time and chance happen to all. In the notes to the present work, after citing some striking passages from a "*speech against political unions*," the writer remarks, "It is a singular trait of the times, that a speech containing so much of sagacity and mature reflection as is to be found in this exercitation, should have been delivered in an academical debating club, and should have passed away in a pamphlet, which, as far as I am aware, attracted no notice. Time and place consenting, a brilliant Parliamentary reputation might be built upon a tithe of the merit." (Vol. II. p. 228.) A very curious work was a few years since published in France, on the idea of detecting the false foundations of the reputation which the world has awarded to many famous persons.

shall be named together;—Scott, Southey, Byron, Moore, Wordsworth, Crabbe, Hemans, Campbell, Joanna Baillie;—one thinks of these diversities of magnificent genius with inexpressible amazement. It was the infinite variety in which these wonderful persons displayed the poetic enthusiasm, much more than its intensity, that created the lassitude which followed. Had they been all of the same school, had they exercised their art in the same way, they would but have prepared the public the more eagerly to receive some new-invented method. But they left no method untried. They had

> "run
> Through each mode of the lyre, and were masters of all;"

and nothing remained but to settle down into vacancy and silence. But it were folly to esteem it a state of death. A season of extreme and long-continued excitement may bring on a season of lethargy and indifference; but this will pass away like the effects of opium on the body, and the desires of a healthy appetite will return. It is therefore in the nature of things impossible, that the depression of the last few years should be permanent. The only uncertainty would be as to the quarter from which the revival would spring, and the character which the new school would assume. These points could be decided only by the experiment of that successful genius, who should break the dull enchantment, and make himself the leader of the revolution or restoration.

Whether Mr. Taylor is to be this fortunate champion, must be allowed to be quite uncertain; though some voices have hailed him as such. The warm welcome which his adventurous undertaking has met with, in certain high quarters, is ample proof that the world is by no means dead to the beautiful art it has in all ages idolized, but has been only reposing, and is ready enough to arouse itself at the first strain that shall be heard from a true minstrel's touch. If the criticism contained in his own sensible Preface be just, then the attention excited to his poem is one of the auspicious signs of the times; for it may be taken as an indication, that the public mind is returning to a healthier tone, is throwing off its infatuated attachment to the vicious peculiarities which have been mingled with the powerful works of recent days, and is resuming its submission to the calm and dignified laws of the elder literature of England and the world. We should be glad to see this restoration taking place in the prose literature as well as the poetry of

the times. It is too soon however to expect this. The madness of the magazines, and the crazy competition of hungry and ambitious authors, who care not how they trample on English and common sense if they can but extort a stare and gain their bread, will urge the evil to a higher pitch of extravagance before it will be ripe for destruction. In Great Britain, to be sure, it can hardly be carried further. "The force of folly can no farther go." But in this country we have been hitherto congratulating ourselves that the purity of our writers had not been soiled by the affectations and conceits and flippancies and intensities and mock inspirations of the Blackwoods and Frazers, and what has been well styled the "affected, overstrained, feverish, convulsionary literature" of the times. But our turn appears to be coming, and we are doomed to receive over again in our native journals the miserable tinsel, and disgusting smartness, which have become but too fashionable with the proud islanders. Let us hope that the friends of orderly letters will do what they may to limit the progress of this evil. If it may not be wholly shunned, let them at least strenuously check it. So vicious a school is too unnatural to be long-lived; and it will be much to the credit of the country, if its scholars shall successfully exert themselves to abridge its natural term of life and cut it short in the midst. If it live but a year, it will be a year of mischief too much.

It is one cause of the interest belonging to the appearance of this volume, that it is likely to have an influence upon the point to which we are referring. And this, not only from the decided marks of attractive and skilful talent which it exhibits, but from the very judicious piece of criticism by which it is prefaced; a criticism, which, without any arrogance in its tone, speaks of the late school, of which Byron was the example and the head, as too merely imaginative, sensitive, and fantastic, to be reputed poetry of the highest order, and too slight and evanescent in its beautiful structure, to satisfy the understanding and take permanent possession of the strongholds of fame.

"It consists of little more than a poetical diction, an arrangement of words implying a sensitive state of mind, and therefore more or less calculated to excite corresponding associations, though, for the most part, not pertinently to any matter in hand; a diction which addresses itself to the sentient, not the percipient, properties of the mind, and displays merely symbols or types of feelings, which

might exist with equal force in a being the most barren of understanding."—p. xvi.

"I would by no means wish to be understood as saying that a poet can be too imaginative, provided that his other faculties be exercised in due proportion to his imagination. I would have no man depress his imagination, but I would have him raise his reason to be its equipoise. What I would be understood to oppugn, is the strange opinion which seems to prevail amongst certain of our writers and readers of poetry, that good sense stands in a species of antagonism to poetical genius, instead of being one of its most essential constituents. The maxim that a poet should be "of imagination all compact," is not, I think, to be adopted thus literally. That predominance of the imaginative faculty, or of impassioned temperament, which is incompatible with the attributes of a sound understanding and a just judgment, may make a rhapsodist, a melodist, or a visionary, each of whom may produce what may be admired for the particular talent and beauty belonging to it: but imagination and passion, thus unsupported, will never make a poet, in the largest and highest sense of the appellation."

"Mr. Shelley and his disciples, however,—the followers (if I may so call them) of the PHANTASTIC SCHOOL, labor to effect a revolution in this order of things. They would transfer the domicile of poetry to regions where reason, far from having any supremacy or rule, is all but unknown, an alien and an outcast; to seats of anarchy and abstraction, where imagination exercises the shadow of an authority, over a people of phantoms, in a land of dreams." —Vol. I. pp. xix.–xx.

The poem which follows is constructed on a wholly different idea. It is founded on reality, common sense, and philosophy, appealing to the imagination for illustration and ornament, but building up the main body of sterner materials. It is a picture, in dramatic form, of the men and manners of turbulent Flanders, in the fourteenth century. The scene lies in a besieged city and a camp; the time is a time of rebellion and war; the action is a representation of that strange union and contrast of public distress and prosperity with the under-current of private trial and change, love and hate, sorrow and joy, generosity and selfishness, which must always go to make up the reality of a state of warfare, as well as of the common condition of life. What is private and individual is far more affectingly displayed, as it is more interesting in itself, than what pertains to the public movements and the fortunes of the state. Indeed it is wonderful, how, into the midst of tumult

and uproar, the author has been able to introduce so much quiet philosophy and such exquisite scenes of tenderness. It is such passages that show him to be the true poet, and that satisfy us of his capacity to reach the highest place, though there are defects in the present work which forbid our according him so high a rank at present. A specimen of the passages to which we allude may be found in the description of Ukenheim's family.

ARTEVELDE.

"Now render me account of what befell,
Where thou hast been to-day.

CLARA.

It is but little.
I paid a visit first to Ukenheim,
The man who whilome saved our father's life,
When certain Clementists and ribald folk
Assailed him at Malines He came last night,
And said he knew not if we owed him aught,
But if we did, a peck of oatmeal now
Would pay the debt, and save more lives than one.
I went. It seemed a wealthy man's abode;
The costly drapery and good house-gear
Had, in an ordinary time, betokened
That with the occupant the world went well.
By a low couch, curtained with cloth of frieze,
Sat Ukenheim, a famine-stricken man,
With either bony fist upon his knees,
And his long back upright. His eyes were fixed
And moved not, though some gentle words I spake:
Until a little urchin of a child
That called him father, crept to where he sat
And plucked him by the sleeve, and with its small
And skinny finger pointed: then he rose,
And with a low obeisance, and a smile
That looked like watery moonlight on his face,
So weak and pale a smile, he bade me welcome.
I told him that a lading of wheat-flour
Was on its way, whereat, to my surprise,
His countenance fell, and he had almost wept.

ARTEVELDE.

Poor soul! and wherefore?

CLARA.

That I soon perceived.
He plucked aside the curtain of the couch,
And there two children's bodies lay composed.
They seemed like twins of some ten years of age,
And they had died so nearly both together
He scarce could say which first: and being dead,
He put them, for some fanciful affection,
Each with its arm about the other's neck,
So that a fairer sight I had not seen
Than those two children, with their little faces
So thin and wan, so calm, and sad, and sweet.
I looked upon them long, and for awhile
I wished myself their sister, and to lie
With them in death as they did with each other;
I thought that there was nothing in the world
I could have loved so much; and then I wept;
And when he saw I wept, his own tears fell,
And he was sorely shaken and convulsed,
Through weakness of his frame and his great grief.

ARTEVELDE.

It was a thousand pities he deferred
So long to ask our aid.

CLARA.

It was indeed.
But whatsoe'er had been his former pride,
He seemed a humbled and heart-broken man.
He thanked me much for what I said was sent;
But I knew well his thanks were for my tears.
He looked again upon the children's couch,
And said, low down, they wanted nothing now.
So, to turn off his eyes,
I drew the small survivor of the three
Before him, and he snatched it up, and soon
Seemed quite forgetful and absorbed. With that
I stole away.

ARTEVELDE.

There is a man by fate
Fitted for any enterprise of danger.
Alas! of many such I have the choice."

Vol. i. pp. 180–182.

The man who writes thus is a true poet. But Mr. Taylor does not always write thus. He is sometimes negligent, coarse,

slovenly in his verse, vulgar in his diction, prosaic in his thought. He seems to be haunted by a fear of the canon which he asserts in his Preface: "Let no man sit down to write with the purpose of making every line and word beautiful and peculiar;" a very just maxim, but not to be so applied as to apologize for what we sometimes find in the present work, — pieces of ordinary and unfinished workmanship patched on, in the midst of the most delicate and beautiful. The poet is bound to sustain himself, though not always to be striking. It is quite as unlawful for him to fall below a decorous and elegant propriety, as to be perpetually aiming at the brilliant and sublime. If the latter makes him ridiculous, the former renders him offensive. And Mr. Taylor seems to us to have occasionally offended in this way, from an undue anxiety not to offend in the other. Closely connected with this blemish is another still more objectionable, and for which no such apology can be made; — the approach to profaneness, in the frequency with which the name of the Supreme Being is uttered, in all sorts of irreverent exclamations. It is an offence against good taste and serious feeling altogether gratuitous; and we are wholly unable to account for it, that such a writer should exhibit the poverty of mind which is indicated by this use of vulgar expletives.

Excepting the circumstance just adverted to, we are not aware that any considerable objection is to be made to the poem on the score of moral tendency; though it cannot be said to lay claim to any high commendation in this respect. The writer appears not to have had any higher view in its composition than to frame a piece of literary art, leaving the moral wisdom, the philosophy of virtue, the instruction concerning principle and character, to be incidentally developed, or to be not developed at all, as might suit his humor while writing. Considering what literature is and has always been, this is not to be wondered at, though it is to be lamented. We do not, indeed, regard the deficiency in the present case to be so entire and damnatory as do some, who speak of the book as having a tendency directly immoral. We doubt whether such persons do not consider it too curiously; we apprehend that, when rightly examined, the portions of the work, on which they form that opinion, will be found not to justify it. These portions are in certain aspects undoubtedly unpleasant, — they offend our delicacy, — we wish that they were otherwise. Connected though

they be with some of the sweetest poetry of the work, the reader is painfully uneasy as he peruses them. But if we allow a subject like the present to be treated at all, if we permit a poet to discuss, what is unquestionably a great and instructive theme, — the effects of sudden elevation to power and prosperity upon the character of a retired and studious man, called from his habits of contemplative life to head an army in rude times, and wage war against the oppressors of his country, — to trace the growth of ambition in his heart, and the change which is wrought upon his temper, principles, and habits, through the deteriorating influences of his changing and successful career; — if a poet may meddle with this high argument, and be allowed to select for exhibition the scenes and events, which in the clearest, briefest, most interesting manner, will unveil his hero's state of mind, and portray the progress and character of his change; — then it is impossible that he should not find himself compelled to touch upon descriptions and discussions which trench on the limits of propriety and decorum. The progress of decline in character cannot be described without describing vice; the scenes which illustrate it are scenes of vicious temptation. They need not be made alluring in the representation, but the representation cannot be shunned. Now this is precisely the predicament in which Mr. Taylor stands. He has undertaken to show the rise, progress, greatness, and decline of a strong character. Perhaps he might have selected other situations which would equally well accomplish his purpose; but it cannot be denied, that the situations he has selected do perfectly accomplish it, and that these are among the most likely to occur in real life. It would be hard to show, that any within his option would not have involved questions of moral propriety altogether as weighty as occur at present. The actual moral of the plot is good. The lesson to be drawn from the example is a true and strong one; and the doubtful scenes in which the example is delineated, are to the full as unexceptionable in manner, as inoffensive in diction, allusion, and incident, as those which occur unblamed in the works of many standard writers; — for example, in Southey's Roderick, which we are not aware has ever been complained of on this account. The connexion between Roderick and the daughter of Count Julian embarrasses the reader quite as much as that between Artevelde and Elena; even more, we should say, be-

cause it is more perpetually present to the mind, as the point on which the whole action turns. If there is a compensation for this in the moral to be drawn from the ill consequences, the misery, and the remorse, which follow so fearfully in the train of the sin, the same remark holds good in regard to the work before us; for the poet has explained justly and with singular adroitness the shame, and debasement, and long misfortunes, which were the consequence of the corrupt passion to which the high-minded Artevelde gave way in the brilliant day of his prosperity. And though it may be said, perhaps, that he has not made the most of his materials for a moral effect, it cannot be denied that he has thrown in many fine glimpses of a high philosophy, uttered many profound and wise observations on character and manners, and asserted the superintending rule of Providence and the authority of duty. We will give some specimens before we go further, that full justice may be done him in this particular.

"ADRIANA.

"Lo, here I stand in jeopardy and fear,
Weak, trembling, sick at heart, and wearied so
With perturbation, and with pain so racked,
That I have lost my patience, and for hours
Have prayed for God's deliverance through death;
Yet rather would I, yea, far rather, live
A dateless life of anguish such as this;
Rather live out my reason thus, and twist
For restless years upon a bed-rid couch,
With the sole sense of dotage and distress,
Than change with thee and take upon my soul
Thy forfeiture, and lodge within my breast
That worm of memory which to-day shall breed,
And which upon thy death-bed shall not die,
But being of the soul, shall be immortal!
Go — God forgive thee! for not mine the heart
That would invoke a curse." Vol. I. pp. 158, 159.

"ARTEVELDE.

"That Providence which makes the good take heed
To safety and success, contrariwise
Makes villains mostly reckless. Look on life,
And you shall see the crimes of blackest dye
So clumsily committed, by such sots,
So lost to thought, so scant of circumspection,
As shall constrain you to pronounce, that guilt

Bedarkens and confounds the mind of man.
Human intelligence on murders bent
Becomes a midnight fumbler; human will
Of God abandoned, in its web of snares
Strangles its own intent." Vol. II. p. 77.

There are many such passages, which show an aptitude for observation and a depth of moral remark. Still he cannot be numbered with the moral poets; he cannot be placed by the side of Cowper, for example, or Southey, or Wordsworth. It is observable, too, that he has availed himself scarcely at all of the fine religious uses of such a catastrophe; he sends no thought of the suffering and the penitent up to God, casts no glance of the disappointed and dying beyond the grave. In Roderick, the whole story of abandonment and crime is hallowed, and every thought of indelicacy is rebuked, by the commanding presence of a religious idea; the agonies of a wounded conscience and the peace of devout penitence are taught in powerful and pathetic strains. To no such great results are we led in the work before us. The story goes on according to the progress of the natural retributions of Providence; there is the stern law of error, then suffering, then death, and there is the end; —a process which a heathen poet might equally well have depicted, and which gave to a Christian an opportunity, never by such an one to be passed by, for teaching the high and immortal philosophy of human life, as it stands in revelation; — for connecting the story of this feverish and wretched existence, not only with the severe law of an invisible Providence, as irrefragable as fate, but with the benignant purposes of the sympathizing Father, and the everlasting destinies of the spiritual world.

We are aware it may be said, that these remarks go rather against the whole subject and purpose of the poem, than to prove an error in the execution of the plan, being what it is. And in truth this is what we have wished to say. We are longing for a poem of a totally different character. We want to see the great poem which shall be produced by the perfect union of genius, philosophy, and true religion, exerted of set purpose, not to amuse, but to instruct and elevate. We are tired of the low and unmeaning purposes to which poetry has been so long devoted. Genius has a better task to perform, owes a higher debt to society and man, than to paint this outside of the soul in colors which are to fade, than to sing of virtue and

humanity in strains which cannot be sung in heaven. Literature has too long been content to be superficial, to hold it her perfection to manage sentences and treat light subjects gracefully. Wonderful is it, how much talent has been wasted in composing, and how much panegyric in applauding, works of high pretension, which have no merit beyond their finished execution, which impart not a glow to one good feeling, which teach no truth to the understanding, which encourage no good sentiment in the heart. The world ought to be tired of this empty labor of its gifted minds; those minds ought to disdain the insignificant employment; and all who care for the virtue or improvement of man, who would have society any thing more than a company of light-minded and effeminate idlers, should be as incapable, as was Cuvier, of reading a book which "teaches nothing" without the "greatest irritation."

We do not mean to overlook the fact, while we are writing thus, that there are those who have done their duty in the manner that we suggest, and consecrated their pens to the lasting themes of truth and man. It would be ungratefully to forget some of the most admirable names on the record of time. Let us never mourn the worse than waste of genius in the times of Charles the Second, without remembering, that it was preceded by the glorious Milton; and when we speak sadly of the profligate pen of Byron, and the objectless effusions of many of his distinguished contemporaries, let us not forget the several lofty names among them, that have been sternly true to their holy trust. We certainly cannot join the apotheosis with which his idolatrous followers are honoring the departure of Coleridge; we cannot be persuaded that the strenuous efforts of Wordsworth's admirers will raise him to the rank which they claim for him; but we reverence and applaud both of those eminent men for their fidelity to the higher nature of man, and their endeavour to lift poetry out of the earthy and trifling track in which it has been so much condemned to walk. We acknowledge also the claim of Southey,—a writer whose fame, in our humble judgment, is yet to soar high above many who have been more admired,—to the honorable place of a religious poet. We join heartily the tribute which has been paid to the devout and heart-sustaining minstrelsy of Mrs. Hemans, who made faith and heaven charming even to the worldly; not to forget Montgomery and others, who have given noble

proof that they not barely desired to please the ear with a sweet sound, but were anxious to purify and instruct.

It is time that all were such. It is time that every poem had its *object*, and that object a lofty one; and there is none lofty, in any adequate sense, excepting that which recognises, as chief in man, the spiritual nature and the spiritual life; which loves, and addresses itself to, the sentiments that belong to his immortal condition; which communes with him as a creature infinitely exposed, tried, perilled, and infinitely blessed, and sings to him in strains which breathe of heaven, which help him to find the way to heaven, which are responses to the harps of the angels and the hymns of the cherubim, and which he may as fitly sing in the paradise of God and in company with the Eternal, as in this vale of mortal pilgrimage. Already there is much of this holy song floating on the heavy atmosphere of earth, and filling it, to those whose ears are open, with the deep enchantment of heaven. Genius has oftentimes put on the wings of an angel, and borrowed the strings of a seraph's lyre, when he has poured out his soul in overflowing melody. We would it were always so. Pity that the *poeta* should ever be disjoined from the *vates*. He ought to regard himself, inspired as he is beyond other men, as consecrated to the highest range of thought,—as one of the servants of the universal altar, on whose frontlet should be written "Holiness to the Lord." What is earthly and perishable he should leave to a meaner race, and, aspiring to immortality, should feel the immortality of earthly fame to be insufficient.

H. W. JR.

ART. VII.—*A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales.* By ANDREW REED, D. D. and JAMES MATHESON, D. D. In Two Volumes. New York. 1835. 12mo. pp. 336 and 363.

IN the spring of the last year two gentlemen were deputed by the Congregational Union, an active and powerful body among the English Dissenters, to reciprocate sentiments of Christian affection and fellowship with their Orthodox breth-

ren in this country, and also, by careful and exact inquiries on the spot, to obtain a better understanding of the character and tendency of some recent movements in the American churches, and of the constitution and government of the churches themselves. We are far from wishing to call in question the general competency of these gentlemen for the work they undertook, or the general fairness and impartiality of their accounts in regard to those things which they themselves saw or heard. The gross and often ludicrous blunders occurring in their "Narrative" are to be traced for the most part, we presume, either to their own innocent mistakes as strangers and foreigners, or to the easy credit which they naturally gave to the misstatements of those who ought to have known, and probably did know better.

Soon after their arrival at New York they proceeded to Washington, Congress being in session; then returned to New York so as to be present at the religious anniversaries in that city early in May; then repaired to Philadelphia to attend the meetings of the General Assembly; then hurried away to Boston, where they passed Election week; from Boston they went by the way of Burlington to Quebec, visited the Falls on their way back, and proceeded thence to Erie, on Lake Erie. Here the gentlemen separated, Dr. Matheson traversing the interior of Pennsylvania alone, while Dr. Reed made a rapid tour through the Western States, and returned by the Virginia route to Philadelphia, where they again met. After this they spent some time in the western counties of New York, and in a second visit to New England, and then returned to Liverpool, in the same vessel which brought them out, Dr. Reed having, as he says, travelled in seven months no less than thirteen thousand miles. Of course it is not in our plan to follow these gentlemen step by step in their journeyings; but it may be useful to set down some of the general conclusions to which they came on subjects on which they had the best means of making up a well-considered and impartial judgment, and also to correct a few of the absurd inaccuracies into which they fell by trusting in other matters to idle rumors, or to the hearsay of prejudiced or perverse informers.

No one subject occupied so much of the attention of the Deputation as the new measures adopted in what are called "Revivals of Religion." In speaking particularly of the "Anxious Seat," Dr. Reed observes;

"Then, as an evidence of character, it is certainly among the worst that can well be employed. It is a measure highly inviting to the ignorant, the vain, and the self-conceited; and it is equally repulsive and difficult to the timid, the modest, and reflective. I can hardly conceive of a delicate and well-educated young female, being able to meet such a demand in the face of a large congregation, unless she regards it as a duty to Christ, and a term of her salvation; and then in obeying she does violence to those feelings, which are the safeguard and the beauty of her character. I have seen such young persons shrink and shudder at the call, through modesty, and then comply through fear; and, when complying, writhing from distress under hysterical tortures. But who has a right to exact all this amount of suffering? And is it not the worse, if it is not only unnecessary, but prejudicial, to the end proposed, by diverting the attention to a bodily service, from what alone is of acknowledged importance?" — Vol. II. p. 33.

He afterwards speaks of the hazardous and precipitate conclusions to which it leads.

"Such notices as the following are common in the several religious papers: —

"'Last Sabbath day I attended a camp meeting; it was orderly and solemn; and thirty-one professed to *indulge hope*.'

"'On Saturday an awful solemnity was on the assembly. On Sabbath morning three persons *gave themselves away* to Christ, and *were admitted to the church*.'

"'A protracted meeting began on Monday. On the following Saturday the session examined twenty-one; *all of whom were next day admitted to the church*.'

"'On the second day of the meeting, the *anxious* and the *converts* were called on to separate themselves from the rest of the congregation.'

"'On the last day,' at another meeting, 'about four hundred, if I mistake not, assembled in the anxious room. The converts being called on to separate themselves from the anxious, about one third *declared themselves converts*.'

"A revival preacher, after delivering a sermon, called on the anxious to meet him in the lecture-room. About two hundred obeyed. He called on them to kneel in prayer; and he offered an alarming and terrific prayer. They arose. 'As many of you,' he said, "as have given yourselves to God, in that prayer, go into the New-Convert room.' Upwards of twenty went. 'Now,' he said to the remainder, 'let us pray.' He prayed again in like manner. He then challenged those who had given themselves to God in that prayer, to go into the New-Convert room. Another set fol-

lowed. This was repeated four times. The next morning he left the town, having previously sent a notice to the newspaper, stating that Mr. ——— had preached there last night, and that sixty-one converts professed religion." — Vol. II. pp. 33, 34.

On the final results of such proceedings he thus expresses himself;

"The effect of such a course is, undoubtedly, to create a fearful amount of premature and unscriptural hope, and, therefore, of dangerous and destructive delusion. The effect again, on the church, is to fill it with unconverted, ignorant, and presumptuous persons, and to produce defection on the one hand, and corruption on the other. *And this, in fact, has been the result. Of revivals, so managed, it is considered that not one fifth, sometimes not one tenth, have stood; and many of those who have remained in the church, have given painful evidence of the want of renewed character and conversation.* If one half of those sixty-one, who were so hastily reported by the minister to whom I have referred, to be converted on one evening, should retain a false hope through life, and die with it in their right hand, where would the responsibility lie? or who would dare to incur such responsibility?

"Besides the objections to the new measures thus taken, it must be stated, that they seem to have the faculty of generating a spirit worse than themselves, and which is chiefly to be apprehended. Rash measures attract rash men. Those who would have felt it difficult enough to manage an argument, or discriminate between a right or wrong affection, are struck by what is so tangible and so visible, and so capable of impressing the grosser and animal sensations. Without the power and perhaps the piety of their teachers, they quickly usurp their places. As they have attained their stations by deviating from the usual way, they reckon that it is only to be retained by the same course; and their onward and devious path is tracked by the most unsanctified violence and reckless extravagance.

"In fact, a number of young and raw men, previously unknown to the ministry, and without pastoral experience, instead of giving themselves 'to reading, meditation, and prayer,' have chosen this shorter method to ministerial efficiency; and the effect, wherever it has reached, has been exceedingly calamitous. They have announced themselves as the revival preachers; and have chosen to itinerate over the church; unsettling every thing, and settling nothing. They have denounced pastors, with whom they could not compare, men of tried and approved piety, as hypocrites, formalists, 'dumb dogs,' and as 'leading their people to hell.' They have denounced the Christians who listened to them; and have made submission to their mechanism the test of their conver-

sion. They have addressed the sinner, under the name of fidelity, in harsh, severe, and bitter terms; and have been covetous either of submission or opposition. The endearments and ties of relative life have been sacrificed to the bitter zeal which has taught the child to disrespect the parent, and the parent to cast off the child. They have made, as many have recently in our own land, great, if not full pretensions, to inspiration; and have taught people to rely on impulse and impression in offering what has been called the prayer of faith. They have encouraged females to lead in prayer in promiscuous and public assemblies; and, in fact, have revived all the irregularities of the Corinthian church, as though they had been placed on record, to be copied and not avoided." — Vol. II. pp. 35–36.

It will be recollected that Dr. Reed is a thorough Calvinist, that his intercourse, while in this country, was almost exclusively with the Orthodox, and often with those also, who are, or have been, noted Revivalists, and that in his judgment, as in ours, he had, in other respects, the best possible opportunities for understanding this movement to the bottom, and in the most favorable lights under which it can be presented. His conclusions are before us, expressed in stronger language than Unitarians commonly use. Let us hope that this publication will not be without its effect. Not one in five, and sometimes not one in ten, of the converts made by the Orthodox at such times have stood. What a confession!

The following strictures of Dr. Reed, on the manner in which part of the religious services in our Congregational churches is conducted, deserve attention, not only on their own account, but as indicating that Orthodoxy itself does not always succeed in excluding levity.

"The singing, generally, and universally with the Congregationalists, is not congregational. It is a performance entrusted to a band of singers, more or less skilful; and, as such, may sometimes afford one pleasure, but as an act of worship, it disappoints you greatly; at least, if you have been accustomed to the more excellent way. You have the sense of being a spectator and auditor; not of a participant; and this is destructive of the spirit of devotion. With its best execution, it is not half so fine as the concurrent voices of a thousand persons, pouring forth their grateful sentiments in holy psalmody; and, in its lowest estate, it is poor and chilling indeed. A good sermon is often made or marred by the hymn. I fear many a one has been sadly marred by it in New-England.

"I recollect, on one occasion, before sermon, that beautiful hymn of Watts's, 'Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove,' &c. was sung. There were some seven hundred people present; but the hymn rested with six or seven persons in the gallery. The last line of each stanza was left to the female voices. At the line, 'And our devotions die,' to give the dying notes the more effect, it was left to one voice. The young woman kept her breath and diminished her tones as long as she could, and then turned round on her companions and smiled.

"On another occasion, which was a special meeting of prayer and exhortation for the conversion of the world, I enquired of my brethren, uniting with me in the service, whether we could not close with the fine doxology, 'From all that dwell below the skies,' &c. and the Old-Hundredth tune? 'Most certainly,' was the cheerful reply. It appeared, however, that there was another party to be consulted. Our wish was conveyed to the singers; and the singers sent their respects, saying, that they could not sing it, as they were prepared with another piece. The consequence was, that a solemn service was closed, and sadly cooled down, by a performance in which none could join, in which none were meant to join, and in which none cared to join." — Vol. II. pp. 82, 83.

The Deputation repeatedly express uneasiness at the course which the zealots for temperance are beginning to take here and elsewhere. This appears from the following graphic description of a meeting of a Temperance Society in Lexington, Kentucky.

"At sundown, as it is called, a bell began to toll. I concluded that there was to be a meeting of some sort and somewhere; and as my object was to mingle with the people, I followed its voice, and soon found myself at the Court-house. It was a meeting of the friends of Temperance. There was a poor promise of attendance when I arrived; but at last there were nearly a hundred persons assembled; they were all men. An individual moved to the chair. He had no speaking powers, and simply called on the Secretary to read the minutes. It appeared from these that monthly meetings had been resolved on, at which questions should be discussed; and that this was the first meeting. The question before them was, 'Whether, in the last one hundred years, intemperance had not done more harm to the human race than murder, disease, war, and all other evils?'

"When the subject was thus announced, there was a pause. The chairman solicited remark. Still there was a pause; and nothing to relieve it. The lights were few; the room looked

heavy and dull; and those who occupied it looked heavy also and dull. All was sombre and silent; except that spitting was engaging the interval, and was so continuous as to be like rain pattering from the roof, and so universal as to make you feel that you must get wet. I had a man sitting next to me who kept me constantly on the look-out; but while he often made me jump, he did me no harm. These men have surprising cleverness in spirting their tobacco-juice; and, like good drivers, they seem to have pride in showing how near they can run to an object without touching it.

"But to return to my company. By this time you are to understand that a worthy clergyman arose, and had the boldness to take the affirmative of the question. Another pause occurred, with the same interlude. At length a person advanced, who, by his rough manner and bad expression, I took for a mechanic of the town, delivering himself honestly, but unused to the exercise. However, he quickly showed that he was an agent, and he made in the end a very indiscreet speech, in a most unwinning style. His statements relative to Lexington provoked some remarks. He hailed them, — he hoped that he should be opposed, — he delighted in it. A lawyer, of repute at the bar, spoke, but so strangely, that none could tell whether he was friend or foe. Some one expressed a fear that they should do no good without opposition; and proposed that they should adjourn to get up an opposition; he really feared that nobody would come again without it. And so it ended. It reminded me forcibly of a manœuvre played by one of our minor theatres lately. It had failed to get attention by other means; so it gave notice, by large placards, of *A Row at the Cobourg*, trusting in this as a last remedy for an empty house." — Vol. I. pp. 129, 130.

In another place Dr. Reed, in summing up the results of his observations on the Temperance Movement in this country, says:

"It is my duty to convey my impressions with perfect candor; and I should therefore observe, that this Society, and its noble cause, are suffering at the present time from slight, and I trust temporary, reaction. The cause of Temperance has often been pleaded intemperately, and the intemperance of the mind, as well as of the body, has its appropriate punishment. Many have sought to extend the pledge to wines and other things; and have thus destroyed its simplicity and its power. Uniformly it is found that the use of wine is diminished where abstinence from the use of spirits obtains; had the advocates of the great cause remained inflexible to demanding one simple object, they would have won both; the fear is, in insisting on both, they may be denied all. No people know better than the Americans how to bear with manly

and united energy on any portentous evil of the day; they have only one fault, — they know not when to stop. However, they have, as a whole, acted above all praise; they have labored and prayed, prayed and labored, and the plague is stayed, and the nation is saved." — Vol. II. pp. 116, 117.

These remarks evince good sense and discrimination. Without intending to commit ourselves at present in regard to the "Wine Question," we cannot shut our eyes on the fact, that many who have concurred heartily in "Temperance Measures," as they are called, do not however think well of these measures as a means of correcting or reducing all sorts and degrees of evil. Neither have they acted, nor do they now act, on the assumption that alcohol is equally injurious or dangerous in one combination as in another, because forsooth, as they are gravely told from some quarters, and with an air of triumph, "Alcohol is alcohol." Certainly too, as the advocates for extreme measures are never backward to call in question the motives of every one who counsels moderation, it may not be amiss to admonish them in return, that there are few things from which the community, particularly at this moment, has more to dread, than the selfish and petty ambition of second and third rate men to be foremost in reform, and the visionary and fanatical schemes originating in this source.

Our attention is next called to the notices taken in these volumes of Unitarians, and the state of Unitarianism, in this country. Dr. Reed begins his account of the Massachusetts Convention of ministers, by saying;

"The following day I attended, with Dr. Codman, the Congregational Convention. This, unlike the Pastoral Association, includes Unitarians. The Convention is of the nature of our Widow's Fund Society; and, like it, it embraces persons of different creeds, and yet is committed to an exercise of public worship. I can easily see how the Unitarian and the Orthodox may act together for any purely civil or charitable end, without difficulty; but if it is to be extended *to acts of prayer*, and the ministration of the word of life, I see nothing but difficulty. So far, however, as the difficulty is practical, the brethren think it is overcome, as of late years the decided majority is with the Orthodox, and they always appoint, *by the consent of the minority*, the preacher." — Vol. I. p. 64.

"By the consent of the minority." Really this is a little too bad. It would be difficult to name any act of exclusion and

intolerance on the part of the Orthodox of this Commonwealth, which produced at the time so much excitement, or called forth so loud an expression of indignation, as their refusal, a few years ago, to continue the practice of allowing the Liberal members of the Convention their turn in selecting the preacher. The measure was resisted by the minority then, and has been resisted by them from that time to the present; and, as a proof how entirely the moral sense of the community has gone along with them in this resistance, it is remarkable, that a charity, which used to be favored above all others, has sunk, since the change of policy above referred to, and because of that change, into comparative insignificance. One would think it enough that the "Widows' Fund," for Dr. Reed is right in what he says of the nature and objects of the Convention, has been sacrificed to the narrow views of a few leading men in the majority: it is, we humbly conceive, a little too bad to make the Unitarians accessory in any way to this betrayal of a sacred trust.

As a specimen of the accuracy of the information given to these gentlemen as regards the statistics of Unitarianism, we copy their report of the relative strength of the different religious denominations in Plymouth.

"As you will have a strong interest in this place, I will aid your conceptions of it by briefly stating, that the township has a population of 5,400 persons. There are four orthodox Congregational places, having 1,200 hearers, and 400 communicants; there is one Baptist, having about 350 hearers and 100 communicants; there are one Unitarian and one Universalist, having together about 600 hearers and about 40 communicants." — Vol. I. pp. 71, 72.

Now it happens that the Unitarian society alone, in this ancient town, is larger than any two of the Orthodox societies, put together, and has a church of a hundred communicants. There is besides a Christian society, not noticed in the account, numbering a hundred communicants more, all of whom are understood to be Unitarians. The Unitarian and Universalist societies, instead of numbering together, as Dr. Reed would have it, just half as many as the Orthodox Congregationalists, actually contain, it is said, considerably more than half the legal voters in the town. Again we are told:

"The Unitarians have, in the United States, 170 religious societies, and 150 ministers. In Massachusetts, they have about 130 societies, and 110 ministers. In Boston, which is their

stronghold, they have twelve societies, and seventeen clergy, including two who are assistants, and three at large. With the exception of Boston, the congregations are very small; in that city, they average about 600, and out of it, about 100. Their communicants are still lower, in comparison with other denominations." — Vol. II. p. 62.

Did not Dr. Reed know, that the effect of this paragraph would be entirely to mislead his readers in regard to the amount of opposition made, in this country, to the doctrine of the Trinity? Has he yet to learn that the Christians, as they are called, with their seven or eight hundred congregations, are anti-Trinitarians; that the Universalists, another powerful and growing sect, are also generally anti-Trinitarians; and that a large secession from the Quakers in the Middle States, and a still larger one from the Baptists in the Western States, are understood to be anti-Trinitarian? Besides, even in regard to the Unitarian Congregationalists in Massachusetts, it is notorious that some of the largest and most flourishing societies in the denomination are out of Boston. We have seen it stated on the best authority, that in the County of Worcester alone, which is wholly interior and almost wholly agricultural, there are twenty-one Unitarian societies, numbering, by satisfactory computation, six thousand stated worshippers in all; that is, two hundred and eighty-five to a congregation.

But what signifies it? for, according to Dr. Reed, the very name will soon be extinct.

"Everywhere," he says, "they [the Unitarians] are going down. They still retain what endowments they held; and in Boston, they have the wealth and fashion of the place about them; and they have the honor of being considered as the friends of the elegancies and literature of more refined life; but, as a sect, holding certain peculiarities which distinguish them from others, they are impotent indeed. 'Rich, but inefficient,' as it has been used by one of their zealous champions to characterize that portion of their body in the father-land, may be employed with equal significance here. Since they have avowed themselves, they have taken the field in their own defence. But, with perhaps a decided superiority in letters and in adroitness, they have been beaten from every post." — Vol. II. p. 68.

So much for the swagger of the polemic. And now for his *proofs*. He is so good as to inform us, that,

"When this system was in its power and progress, it managed to get the Massachusetts Bible Society under its control. The

consequence was, that the Orthodox quietly retired, and formed a society for themselves. The original society, in the hands of the Unitarians, actually disposed, last year, of twenty-one Bibles!" —Vol. II. p. 69.

We confess ourselves to be utterly at a loss to conjecture what is aimed at in this strange fabrication, or what could possibly have given rise to it. The government of the Massachusetts Bible Society is now, as it always has been, in the hands of Trinitarians and Unitarians, without regard to sectarian distinctions, and its activity during the year referred to was as great, we believe, as usual. The Unitarians never managed, nor attempted to get the Society under their control; neither have the Orthodox quietly retired, and formed a society for themselves; furthermore it appears from the Annual Report made May 26th, 1834, that the Society, in the year preceding, instead of limiting its operations to the paltry charity mentioned above, had distributed no less than two thousand eight hunded and twenty-five Bibles and Testaments. On our consciences, we are sometimes tempted to suspect the worthy deputy of being a wag.

But enough of this; and we should have said still less, had we not supposed that the book might be appealed to in some places as an authority in these matters. After giving us the "facts of the case," as we have seen, Dr. Reed condescends to favor us with what he calls "the philosophy" of the Unitarian defection; by which it appears, if we understand him right, that the old "halfway covenant" has been the principal agent in working all this mischief. We are so dull, however, as not to be able to perceive, even on his own showing, how a device intended merely to secure the rite of baptism to the children of non-communicants could do much toward introducing worldliness into the church itself; or, even if it could, how it was likely to give to that worldliness the form of Unitarianism. Accordingly we must think that the Doctor, notwithstanding his very luminous and satisfactory exposition of the whole matter, has still left the rise and early history of Unitarianism in this city and its vicinity a little in the dark; and, this being the case, we must go back to the old theory for explaining the phenomenon. The promulgation of the system in question, and the general favor with which it has been received, and the ascendency it has attained in this neighbourhood are sufficiently accounted for, when it is recollected, that from the

beginning the churches have been less fettered here, than anywhere else, either by creeds, forms, or ecclesiastical judicatories, and that here too, more than anywhere else, the Scriptures have been anxiously studied, not with a view to make them accord with the popular theology, but to make the popular theology accord with them, — laymen also of intelligence and standing, as well as divines, taking part in the inquiry and giving to it not a little of its liberal tendency and tone.

Much account is made in the "Narrative," of the half a dozen Orthodox churches which have been built in Boston during the last fifteen years; but no notice is taken of the fact that in the same time four Unitarian churches have also been added to the former number, and that the whole were never perhaps so well filled as at the present moment. Dr. Reed should have known too, that the call for new Orthodox churches has not been owing in any case to the decline of Unitarianism in the city itself, nor even to any check in its progress here, but almost exclusively to the constant ingress of strangers from the country who have come with Orthodox predilections. Nevertheless, as was intimated in the outset, we are willing to suppose that the Deputation have reported but what they heard in the circles in which they moved; nay more, it is but justice to add, that the palpable nature of some of the most offensive misstatements, and the ease and certainty of their detection, are good evidence for believing that they were honest blunders. Ed.

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

The Western Messenger, devoted to Religion and Literature. First four Numbers, from July to October, 1835. — We welcome with pleasure this new periodical work, which has entered the same field of labor with our own. It is not confined merely to religious topics, but is attractive through the character of its miscellaneous articles. It comes like a fresh breeze from the West, and bears a grateful odor of the literature of that part of our country. Should it continue to support its present character, there are few periodical works among us which will better deserve or reward encouragement. A community of thought and literary feeling in the different parts of our republic is adapted to be one of the strongest

bonds of our union; and it is especially promoted by such publications as the present.

The Editors say:

"A primary object of this work is to set forth and defend Unitarian views of Christianity. Our religious opinions are to ourselves of the utmost importance, and we feel that we cannot value them too highly. We shall therefore explain and illustrate them, defend them earnestly, show that they rest on revelation, and that they are in all respects practical. This is a part of our work, and it seems to us important, because we believe that these views are not only true, but suited beyond all others, to promote a practical Christian life. We deem it important in another respect. We believe that there are many whose minds hesitate between believing and rejecting Christianity, whose doubts would yield to a thoughtful faith, if the truth were presented in its original and divine simplicity. For it seems to us, that the exaggerated reports of infidelity in the West, have been founded not so much on the rejection of Christianity itself, as on the rejection of creeds, — (i. e. the opinions of men about Christianity,) — which have been presented in its stead, and considered identical with it." — p. 1.

The circumstances under which this publication appears are such as are likely to give it a peculiar and agreeable character, and to procure it circulation where it may do much good, though they are viewed under another aspect in the passage in which they are mentioned.

"The distance at which the Editors live apart is a disadvantage, which will, to some degree, affect this magazine. We are stationed at different points in an immense territory. From Buffalo to St. Louis, is more than twelve hundred miles; and from Cincinnati to Louisville, the two points nearest together, is a day's journey. Of course we can have little personal intercourse together, and absolutely no concert in regard to the articles which we prepare for the successive numbers of the Messenger. It must, therefore, sometimes happen that the same Number will contain two articles on the same subject, and perhaps different, or even contradictory opinions will be found in them. No one of us is appointed censor over the rest, or is responsible for any thing but what he himself writes. If any person, therefore, looks for unity or perfect consistency in our magazine, he will be disappointed. A book chiefly prepared by several persons, without concerted action, must be, in some degree, desultory. We flatter ourselves, however, that we are not the less likely, on this account, to arrive at truth, or to preserve in their purity the principles which we advocate." — pp. 2, 3.

The very next article to that which we have quoted, affords proof how much such a work is wanted, and of how much value it may be. We refer to a review of the noted Dr. Beecher's "Plea for the West." It is time that publications of this sort should not be suffered to run their course of mischief unchecked. We have been particularly struck with one passage quoted from it in the review.

"'For what,' says Dr. Beecher, 'was the city of Boston for five nights under arms, — her military upon the alert, — her citizens enrolled, — and a body of five hundred men constantly patrolling the streets? why were the meetings for public worship, and other public secular meetings, suspended? why were the citizens, at sound of bell, convened at mid-day in Faneuil Hall? To hear Catholicism eulogized, and thanksgivings offered to his reverence the Bishop, for his merciful protection of the children of the Pilgrims!'" — p. 5.

The ludicrous blunders of expression in this passage are remarked by the reviewer; but they do not affect its moral character; and if the amount of truth in the writer's attacks on the Catholics is to be estimated by what we here find, every citizen of Boston may judge whether they deserve credit or not. Dr. Beecher belongs to a class of men who may well be denominated *agitators*, to whom much of the evil of the times is to be attributed. Of these there are different kinds; but many of them are individuals who seek to gain notoriety, as the orators and leaders of a party, that is to be kept in a continual fever, and which has for its main bond of union, the hating and denouncing of some other portion of the community.

It will not be expected that we should remark particularly upon the other articles in these Numbers. Some of them have a particular relation to the state of opinion and manners in the Western States. There is a series of essays, which will interest many readers, on Western Poetry, giving some account of the poets of the West, with extracts from their productions. There are likewise articles of original poetry; and, considering that the work is particularly superintended by a gentleman, the Rev. E. Peabody, who to all his other qualifications adds that of being no mean poet himself, we trust that it will not fail in this department.

Record of a School: Exemplifying the General Principles of Spiritual Culture. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1835. 12mo. pp. 208. — By those who take a deep interest in the much canvassed topic of education, if also in any degree inclined to transcendentalism, or to a more spiritual philosophy than generally prevails, this book will be read and studied with great eagerness and satisfaction. To those, on the other hand, who have no patience for any form of mysticism, and cannot bear the confident and oracular manner in which long-established doctrines and practices are here set aside, the work will seem to have but few attractions, or at least its occasional obscurities and extravagancies will be thought far more than to outweigh its merits in other respects. To speak, therefore, of such a publication with the judgment and dis-

orimination it peculiarly needs, would require much more space than is left to our disposal; so that, for the present, we must content ourselves with a single remark, — a remark, however, which perhaps is likely to do as much towards promoting the circulation of the work as a more formal and extended notice. The "Record" throughout is of a character to interest and please generally in the present unsettled state of the public mind, as regards all metaphysical questions; and, moreover, from the narrative form in which it is given, and the anecdotes with which it abounds, multitudes will peruse it, or considerable portions of it, under an impression, that, in a dress as easy and fascinating as history or romance, they are becoming acquainted with the processes and results of the most profound philosophy, applied to its highest legitimate object, the "spiritual culture" of man.

The Voice of the Spirit. A Sermon preached in Norton, on Sunday, the 15th February, 1835, *at the Interment of the* Rev. Pitt Clarke, Pastor of the First Congregational Parish in that Place. By Andrew Bigelow, Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Taunton. *To which is added an Appendix, containing Extracts from the Diary of the Deceased.* Taunton: 1835. 8vo. pp. 29. — We are glad that Mr. Bigelow has consented to favor the public with this affectionate tribute to the memory of a venerable and faithful servant of Jesus Christ. We gather from it, that Mr. Clarke was born in Medfield, January 15th, 1763. He was early bent on obtaining the advantages of a liberal education; but many obstacles to the gratification of this wish arose out of the troubles of the times, and his own straitened circumstances. These, however, were at length surmounted, and he entered Harvard College in July, 1786, at the age of twenty-three, his preparatory studies having been pursued, for the most part, in his native town, and under the tuition of Miss Hannah Adams, a name so favorably known in the literary history of this country. Having accomplished his collegiate course with credit, he had charge, the two following years, of the town school in Cambridge, and during the same period, and at the intervals of leisure he could command, he prosecuted and completed his theological studies. Norton was the first place in which he preached, as a candidate for settlement; and here he made himself so acceptable, that, by a very unanimous call of the church and congregation, he was regularly ordained over them in the spring of 1793, as their pastor and religious teacher. The even tenor of his ministerial duty and success was not interrupted by any occurrence of much importance, until a movement was made, in his old age, to break up the harmony of

his parish, and establish another of a more Orthodox complexion. We envy not the feelings with which the chief instigators of these difficulties must read the following extract from Mr. Clarke's Diary.

"'No part of my whole life has been so trying to my feelings as this portion of it. Before this period I had lived in great harmony with my people for above forty years; and they appeared as much united as any religious society of my acquaintance. But,'—unexpected difficulties arose;—'I was charged with changing my sentiments, and not preaching the gospel. I thought myself preaching the *same* gospel I ever did, and felt more and more interested in preaching the *true* gospel. The unexpected charge led me to examine more fully the ground of my faith, to search the Scriptures more closely, and to declare more plainly what I conceived to be the whole counsel of God. But my keeping simply to doctrines revealed, did not satisfy some, who chose to separate and form themselves into a new society.

"'This drew me into a critical situation, and very much increased my toils and burdens. But under all these trials I endeavoured to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man. Having this witness, I can go down the hill of life with satisfaction, and fear not to meet my opposers at the bar of my Maker. Were they now perfectly acquainted with my motives of action towards them, and my earnest desire to promote the cause of truth and righteousness, I am sure they would acquit me of any designed fault. My heart's desire and prayer to God is, that they may all come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved. The days of my years teach me that the solemn test of my character is near at hand; that eternity is at my door; that there is but a step between me and death!'"—pp. 13, 14.

It was so. On the 12th of last February, after a ministry of forty-two years, and in the seventy-third year of his age, he passed to his reward in a state of mind thus described by the preacher:

"I testify, my mourning friends,—and I bless God for the privilege of so testifying,—that, often as I have stood by the bed of mortal sickness, and prayed, and watched, and wept, as one and another of the spirits of flesh was quitting its tenement of clay, never have I beheld a death-bed scene more sublimely edifying,—more Christianly serene, sustained, and consoling,—than that of the aged servant of Christ who sleeps in death before us. Truly, his latter end was PEACE. He knew in whom he believed; and 'endured as seeing Him who is invisible.' The Being whom he served, shed down into his soul the gladsome tokens of His presence. Supports he experienced, which the world could not give; which flesh and sense were incapable of administering; but which death itself could not take away.—'My heart is fixed,' he exultingly exclaimed,—'my heart is fixed, trusting, O Lord, in thee. I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit.'—And he sunk from life to rest in peace, and sleep in the 'blessed hope.'"—pp. 15, 16.

THE

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[For the Christian Examiner.]

Art. I. — *Whether the Deity of the Messiah be a Doctrine of the Old Testament.*

It is a discouraging circumstance to those who aim to establish just views of religion, or to correct a popular and long cherished error, that so large a portion of the public is disinclined to thorough investigation, and even incapable of forming a correct judgment of nice questions of criticism and interpretation. The multitude look to the professed teachers of religion for correct views of religious truth, while the love of ease and of interest supplies a strong and continual temptation to these teachers to follow smoothly and safely in the wake of popular opinion. Perhaps in no country in the world is this temptation greater than in our own, where not only the Christian ministry, but theological schools depend in a great measure upon the voluntary contributions of the people. In recent controversies, which have prevailed throughout the country, it has been painful to observe the efforts of the parties, by ambiguous phraseology, high commendations "for substance of doctrine" of old forms and confessions, from which essential departures had been made, and other means, to maintain a hold upon the sympathy and support of large bodies of people. Even the few biblical commentaries, which have appeared among us, clearly manifest the influence of other considerations, besides those which should decide the judgment of an expositor of holy writ. On the subject of religion, at least, we find in republican America far less freedom of thought than in

despotic Germany. We do not mean to impute hypocrisy to any man, or any class of men. We speak of influences by which men may be unconsciously biassed. Certainly the besetting sin of the American theologian is love of popular or general approbation. His great duty is, to rise above the opinions of his contemporaries, and to search for pure truth, and proclaim it; or, if he seek approbation, to seek it from God and a future age.

How many passages, wrongly applied or wrongly interpreted, relating to the Trinitarian controversy, are still suffered to remain in our popular commentaries undisturbed and unexpunged, just as if they had not been given up by the most learned Orthodox scholars. Thus, while all Hebrew grammarians of any note, Professor Stuart of Andover among the number, make the use of the plural name of God, and of the plural pronoun, in the first and second chapters of Genesis, a mere Hebraism, denoting dignity or excellence in the person to whom it is applied, the commentaries, edited and recommended by the principal Orthodox theologians of the country, find undoubted proofs of the Trinity in the abovementioned Hebrew usage. When we consider how many thousands and thousands of such commentaries as Scott's, and Henry's, and the Cottage Bible, continue to be circulated in our country, our hopes for the speedy progress of religious truth are not very sanguine. How are correct opinions to be established in the popular mind, if learned professors and clergymen continue to publish or recommend expositions, which they themselves do not regard as valid?

Another circumstance unfavorable to the progress of truth is, the reverence manifested by many of our theologians for what comes from the other side of the Atlantic, especially for what comes in a German dress. Arguments which have been abandoned as nugatory by some of the most learned Trinitarians amongst ourselves, as well as elsewhere, are no sooner brought forward by the new would-be Orthodox school of Germany, than they are translated and republished, just as if they were believed to be valid, and had never been refuted.

We confess we were surprised to see the article, "On the Deity of the Messiah in the Old Testament," translated from Hengstenberg's Christology, and published in the Andover "Biblical Repository,"* no doubt being expressed by its

* Vol. III. pp. 653 - 683.

conductors, as to the validity of his arguments, or the correctness of his expositions. We had supposed, that the learned amongst Trinitarians had ceased to rely upon the Old Testament for proof of the Trinity, and we knew that the Andover Professor of Sacred Literature had published opinions inconsistent with several of the expositions in the abovementioned article.

We cannot doubt, however, that a subject is still open for discussion, upon which such articles as that of Hengstenberg are published without comments in the most learned Orthodox journals, and at the seats of the principal Orthodox seminaries in the land. The subject is an important one, not only as relating to numerous arguments in relation to the Trinity, which have been much relied upon in past times, but because the manner in which the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the Deity of Christ, might be expected to be taught by Jesus and his Apostles, must have been much affected by the question, whether such doctrine were taught by them as new, or merely referred to as already existing and established in their times.

We propose, therefore, to inquire, whether the Deity of the Messiah be a doctrine of the Old Testament; whether he is represented in those writings as the Supreme Being himself, as identical with Jehovah, as well as the anointed and sent of Jehovah. We shall confine our attention to the passages brought forward in the article above mentioned, as being all that have been adduced of late by any respectable authority. The reader, to whom the subject is distasteful from the circumstance that he has no doubts relating to it, can pass it over, as being designed for the benefit of the few who may be, as the writer once was, anxiously seeking for all the light that can be thrown upon it.

Hengstenberg begins by asserting, that our Saviour himself found the doctrine of the Deity of the Messiah in the Old Testament, and adduces Matt. xxii. 41, &c., to support his assertion. The reasoning of Jesus in this passage, says he, has no sense, unless it prove the Messiah to be Jehovah.

And yet the psalm, to which our Saviour referred, begins as follows:

> "Jehovah said to my lord,
> Sit thou upon my right hand," &c.

It is Jehovah that speaks; it is "my lord" that is spoken to; it is Jehovah that promises to make the foes of "my lord"

his footstool; and yet, says Hengstenberg, our Saviour's reasoning has no sense, unless it prove Jehovah, who speaks, to be the same being with "my lord" who is spoken to; Jehovah that promises, the same being with "my lord" to whom the promise is made!

Why is not our Saviour's reasoning valid on the supposition, that the Messiah was a more exalted personage than David, one whose kingdom was not of this world, but who, by establishing a spiritual dominion over the minds and hearts of men, should be a far higher, nobler king than David; one whom David might well call his lord, or superior, though by no means guilty of the absurdity of representing him as the same being with Jehovah that spake to him.

We will remark farther, though at the hazard of a little repetition, that Jesus does not offer any explanation of the hundred and tenth psalm. The passage, as it is quoted in Matthew, affords no greater proof that the Messiah was God, than as it stands in its original connexion, which is as follows:

"Jehovah said to my lord,
Sit thou at my right hand,
Until I make thy foes thy footstool;
Jehovah will extend the sceptre of thy power from Zion;
Thou shalt rule in the midst of thine enemies.
Jehovah hath sworn, and he will not repent,
Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec."

Can any thing be plainer than that "my lord," to whom Jehovah spake, is a different being from Jehovah; that he who was commanded to sit at the right hand was a different being from him at whose right hand he was commanded to sit; that he whose sceptre was to be extended from Zion was a different being from him who was to extend it; that he who was to be a perpetual priest, was a different being from him who swore to make him so? What can be plainer than that the Messiah, if this psalm relates to him, is represented in his regal character as seated upon the hill of Zion, from which seat Jehovah promises to extend the sceptre of his power? Jehovah, as Supreme Governor of this lower world, or of Israel, invites him to sit at his right hand, that is, to participate in his government, to be his vicegerent, ruling the province assigned him. This psalm, then, in its obvious meaning, instead of proving the person, called by a common appellation of respect

"my lord," to be Jehovah, proves him to be a different being from him, one exalted by him to his offices and honors.

We cannot believe that Jesus meant to suggest a meaning different from the true and obvious meaning of the psalm. He may not even have believed that it applied to the Messiah. He may merely have raised the question in regard to a psalm, supposed by the Jews to relate to the Messiah. By proposing to the Pharisees the question, How David could call his remote descendant "his lord," he might intend to stop their captious questions, and at the same time lead them to reflect upon the true, the highest dignity of the Messiah, which consisted, not in his outward pomp, but in his moral triumphs; not in the extent of his dominion, but in the nature of it, which he declared to Pilate, when he said: "I am a king; for this end was I born, and for this end came I into the world, that I might bear witness to the truth." * Jesus, as founder of an everlasting kingdom of truth and righteousness, is king of kings and lord of lords. He who was the light of the world, upon whom was poured out the spirit without measure, who was in the bosom of the Father, who would be the giver of everlasting life to those who should believe and obey him, was far superior in dignity to David, though far inferior to Almighty God, who bestowed all his powers and all his authority upon him, and though the works which he did were only those, "which the Father gave him to perform." †

But how, it may be asked, was the question of Jesus a puzzling one to the Pharisees, when they might have replied, that the son was often greater than the father, and that, therefore, the Messiah might be a greater king than David? This difficulty, I reply, belongs to the Trinitarian explanation quite as much as to any other. Perhaps the cause of their silence might be, that, as they knew that Jesus laid claim to be the Messiah of God, and had wrought miracles to prove his claim, and as they knew also that many of the people acknowledged his claim, they might feel as if they should exalt Jesus by exalting the Messiah. However this difficulty may be disposed of, it is entirely unconnected with any particular explanation of the psalm.

It is also alleged by Hengstenberg, that in verse fifth of this psalm, "The Lord at thy right hand," &c., the word אֲדֹנָי, which belongs to God alone, is applied to the Messiah. It is

* John xviii. 37. † John v. 36.

admitted that the word with its present pointing is equivalent to Jehovah. It was so understood by the Chaldee paraphrast, and, indeed, יְהוָה is the reading in seventeen manuscripts of Dr. Kennicott, and many of De Rossi.* If, then, a word equivalent to Jehovah be here applied to the Messiah, the verse will read, "Jehovah at THY right hand, *O Jehovah!*" Who does not see, that if the word could ever be applied to the Messiah, it would not be in this verse, where the connexion requires some epithet, distinctive of his official and dependent character.

To us it appears, that the Supreme Being is the subject of this verse, and that it is the king or Messiah who is addressed. The meaning is, "Jehovah at thy right hand," that is, "Jehovah thy helper,† *O king*," &c. So the verse is understood by Grotius and Rivetus, as well as by Rosenmueller and De Wette. The phraseology has no relation to that of verse first, where Jehovah says to "my lord," "*Sit* thou at my right hand," &c.

The next passage adduced by Hengstenberg is the second psalm, where, as he says, the Messiah is called the son of God in a literal, not a figurative, sense. The passage is as follows:

"I will declare the decree;
Jehovah hath said to me, Thou art my son;
This day have I begotten thee;
Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance,
And the ends of the earth for thy possession."

"*Son*," says our author, "is here used in a literal sense, and therefore proves the Messiah to be divine." But, even if so strange an opinion, as that Jehovah has a son in the literal sense, should be conceded to him, it would be far from following, that the Messiah is the same being with Jehovah. If the Messiah was the son of God in a literal sense, it may be admitted, that in some sense he partakes of the nature of his Father. But the same literal sense requires that he should be regarded as distinct a being from his father, as Solomon was from David, or as any son is from his father; so that, if his sonship implies that he is God in the highest sense, then there are two Gods. It implies also, that he derived his existence

* See Jahn's Hebrew Bible, *ad loc.*
† See Ps. xvi. 8; Ps. cix. 31.

from his Father, and is not eternal, since every son is younger than his father. In self-existence, then, and eternal duration, Jehovah is superior to the Son. Indeed, if the term "son" be here used in a literal sense, or in a sense indicating the nature, rather than the office, of the Messiah, it affords an unanswerable argument against the supposition, that he is Jehovah, or the Supreme Being. For the context proves, that the son, in whatsoever sense the term is used, is an inferior being to Jehovah, and dependent upon him: "*Ask of me,*" says Jehovah, "*and I will give thee,*" &c. It is Jehovah, too, that commands the nations to "kiss the son," that is, to profess allegiance or submission to the king, in the Oriental manner, by kissing his hands or knees, and to seek refuge in his clemency. Ver. 12.

But it is evident from the connexion, and from Scripture usage, that the term "son" is used in a figurative sense, and denotes a king, or a favored king. The whole meaning of the verse, so far as it can be expressed in plain language, is, "Thou art my favored or beloved king; this day have I made thee so."

In verse second, the Psalmist represents the kings of the earth as conspiring against Jehovah, and against his anointed, that is, against one consecrated to the office of king by his appointment; and in verse sixth, Jehovah is represented as saying, "Yet have I set my king upon Zion, my holy hill;" and then follows verse seventh, "I will declare the decree, 'Thou art my son,'" &c. Is it not plain from this connexion, that the person called "son" is so by the decree or appointment of Jehovah? Is it not plain, too, that the term "son" refers to the same official dignity, as "anointed" and "king" in verses second and sixth?

That this is the case will be still more evident, if we consider what is the usage of Scripture in regard to the term "son of God." It is indisputable, in the first place, that it is throughout the Scriptures applied to human beings, to denote some happy relation in which they stand towards God, or to denote some kind of favor bestowed, or promised to be bestowed, upon them by God. Thus, "I will be a father to you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."* "Thus shalt thou say to Pharaoh; Thus saith Jehovah, Israel is my son, even my first-born."† See also

* 2 Cor. vi. 18.

† Exod. iv. 22.

Hos. xi. 1; Jer. xxxi. 20; and many other passages in the Old Testament and the New.

There are other passages in which the term "son of God" is used in a more restricted sense. It is the office of a son to aid his father, to superintend his affairs, to assist him in government if he be a king, and to be his vicegerent in certain circumstances. Hence kings, who resemble the Deity in dominion, who are, like him, objects of reverence, who, as powerful instruments in accomplishing the purposes of divine Providence, are in a certain sense vicegerents of the Governor of the Universe, are called by way of eminence *sons of God.** The idea of the peculiar favor of God, in raising them to their high eminence, is not however excluded, and seems sometimes the most prominent ground of the appellation, even when applied to kings. Thus Ps. lxxxii. 6, and lxxxix. 27.

> "I have said, Ye are Gods,
> And all of you, sons of the Most High."
>
> "I will make him my first-born,
> Higher than the kings of the earth."

Here the implication is, that the kings of the earth may be denominated "sons of God," he, who was to be a higher, more favored king than any of them, being denominated the first-born son.

The title seems to have been peculiarly appropriate to the kings of Israel, on account of the relation, which Jehovah is represented as sustaining towards that nation as their king. Jehovah was king of Israel, and Zion the seat of his government. Thus,

"Let the children of Zion be joyful in their king." Ps. cxlix. 2.

"Jehovah, that made heaven and earth, bless thee out of Zion." Ps. cxxxiv. 3.

> "Praised be Jehovah out of Zion,
> He that dwelleth at Jerusalem." Ps. cxxxv. 21.
>
> "For Jehovah hath chosen Zion,
> He hath desired it as his dwelling-place." Ps. cxxxii. 13.

Jehovah being thus the king of the Jewish nation, the throne of Judea was called the throne of Jehovah. Thus

* We need not remind the classical reader of the analogous epithets διογενὴς, διοτρεφὴς, Διὸς υἱὸς, in Homer.

it is said 1 Chron. xxix. 23, "And Solomon sat upon the throne of Jehovah." With peculiar propriety, then, the human kings of Israel might be denominated sons of God, and represented as his vicegerents, as sitting at his right hand. Thus Ps. cx. 1, 2, before referred to, is explained.

"Jehovah said to my lord,
Sit thou at my right hand.
Jehovah will extend the sceptre of thy power from Zion," &c.

Jehovah being the supreme king of Israel, having his seat upon Zion, the human king of Israel, or the Messiah* represented in that character, would sit at his right hand, participate in his government, be his vicegerent, his son, &c.

In a similar way is to be explained another text referred to by Hengstenberg in proof of the Deity of the Messiah.

"Awake, O sword, against my shepherd,
And against the man that is my fellow, saith Jehovah."
Zech. xiii. 7.

"Shepherds," ποιμένες λαῶν, was not an uncommon appellation of kings, in ancient times, and, Jehovah himself being king of Israel, their earthly king was styled *the fellow* or *associate* of Jehovah in the government of his people.

Thus the phrases "Thou art my son," Ps. ii., "Sit thou at my right hand," cx. 1., and "The man that is my fellow," are all used to designate the same office, viz. that of *king of Israel*, under the supremacy, and by the favor of Jehovah, "who reigned in Zion, and whose dwelling-place was at Jerusalem."

To be *a fellow* or *associate* with any one does not imply strict equality in any respect. Twelve disciples were fellows or associates with Christ, but were not equal to him in any respect. Calvin understands the term in the verse above mentioned in a collective sense, as applied to all religious teachers, who are the ministers and fellow-workers of God.†

If, instead of "fellow" or "associate," we translate עֲמִיתִי *near to me*, or *my neighbour*, the general sense will be nearly the same. It is remarked by Dr. Blayney, a Trinitarian, "Though a man, and his neighbour who liveth near him, be of

*The question, whether this or any of the Psalms has a proper and primary reference to the Messiah, it is not consistent with our limits, nor necessary to our purpose, to discuss.

†See Poole's "Synopsis," *ad loc.*

the same nature with one another, it would not surely follow, that if God were pleased to bring a man 'near' to himself as he did Enoch, or to place him 'next' in authority, as he did David, over his people, that there would be any such thing as equality, or consubstantiality, between them." *

Whatever may be the true explanation of the passage, there is no evidence and no probability, that it relates to the Messiah. "For my part," says Dr. Blayney, with whom Archbishop Newcome seems to coincide, "I am persuaded these words of the Prophet have no direct reference in their original intention to the death of Christ; nor do the words ὅτι γέγραπται, with which the quotation is introduced by the Evangelists (Mark xiv. 27), necessarily imply more, than that our Saviour refers to this passage, as to a proverbial saying, laying it down as a matter of course, for the followers to disperse, when their leader was taken off." Again he says, "I repeat it to be my firm persuasion, that no allusion whatever is here made to the person and sufferings of the Messiah, because the plain and obvious sense of the context, as I trust I have sufficiently shown in my notes, runs in a quite different direction." †

Perhaps it will be as well to remark, in this place, upon the other passages adduced by Hengstenberg from Zechariah. "In chap. xii. 10," says he, "Jehovah calls himself *pierced*, in reference to the piercing of the Messiah by the spear of the Roman soldier." The verse is as follows.

"And I will pour out upon the house of David,
And upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem,
A spirit of supplication for favor;
And they shall look upon me, whom they pierced,
And they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for an only son," &c.

We have no doubt that this verse refers to Jehovah, whether the received reading "upon me," or the various reading "upon him," be adopted. The received reading, according to Jahn, quoting probably from De Rossi, "is found in most of the manuscripts, and in the best ones, and in all the ancient versions." The various reading may have been introduced by some one, who supposed the third person required by the

* Append. to Comment. on Zech. p. 82, 4to.
† See Blayney's Zechariah, *ad loc.*

connexion, or who considered it inconsistent with the nature of the Deity *to be pierced.* As to the change of person from the first to the third, whilst the subject remains the same, it is very common in Hebrew poetry. See Ps. civ. 2, 3.

Whoever will read the chapter with attention will perceive, that the verse in question can have no reference to the Messiah. Jerusalem is represented as besieged by various nations, who are obliged to retire in defeat and ruin, whilst the holy city remains safe and prosperous. The people are then represented in the verse under consideration as lamenting their sins against Jehovah, and earnestly seeking his favor. There is no allusion to the Messiah, nor any description of circumstances, similar to those, in which Jesus lived or died.

As to the expression, "whom they pierced," applied to Jehovah, it is an easy figure to denote contumelious, injurious treatment. Analogous expressions are not uncommon at the present day. Thus we say *to pierce with anguish,* "and speak of *the darts of calumny,* and *the shafts of ridicule.*" "They are said to pierce God," says Grotius, *ad loc.* "who use reproachful language against him." So נָקַב, of which the literal meaning is *to pierce,* is used in Lev. xxiv. 11, for *βλασφημεῖν, to blaspheme.* And even Calvin remarks, that "God here speaks in the manner of men, signifying, that he is wounded by the wickedness of his people, and especially by the obstinate contempt of his word, as a man is mortally wounded, when his heart is pierced." He also remarks, "They wrest the passage too much, who apply it literally to Christ." *

As our object is to ascertain whether the Deity of the Messiah is a doctrine of the Old Testament, it is sufficient for us to show, that, according to received principles of interpretation, there is no allusion to the Messiah in the passage. In what sense the Apostle John understood the passage, when he quoted it in his Gospel, whether, under the influence of the false views of interpretation which prevailed in his day, he misunderstood it, or whether he intended to use the language only in the way of accommodation, or rhetorical illustration, we need not here inquire. There is not more evidence, that John supposed the passage to relate to Christ, than that Matthew supposed Hosea xi. 1, to relate to him, in Mat. ii. 15. They too, who argue from John xix. 37, that Jesus was

* See Calvin on John xix. 37.

literally identical with Jehovah, must argue from the preceding verse, that he was literally identical with the paschal lamb.

The other passage in Zechariah, which Hengstenberg adduces to prove the identity of the Messiah with Jehovah, is the following. "And I said to them, If ye think good, give me my wages; or if not, forbear. And they weighed for my wages thirty pieces of silver. And Jehovah said to me, Cast it into the treasury. Goodly the price, at which I was valued by them! And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them into the house of Jehovah, into the treasury." Zech. xi. 12, 13. We have rendered שְׂכָרִי *my wages*, instead of "my price," because it always denotes wages for service rendered, and not the price of any person or thing sold. We have considered יוֹצֵר equivalent to אוֹצָר, *treasury*, י being used for א, following the Syriac version and some of the Jewish interpreters. That a potter should be one of the ministers of the temple is wholly improbable. For, though earthen vessels were used in the temple, we, with Archbishop Newcome, cannot see why the manufacturer should reside within its precincts.

These alterations in the translation of the passage, however, we do not make as having any bearing upon the general explanation of the passage. To show that it does not prove the Deity of the Messiah, we might as well take the common translation, as that given above.

The design of the passage seems to be, to set forth the contempt in which the prophet Zechariah, and, consequently, in which Jehovah himself, whose minister the prophet was, was held by the house of Israel. The prophet had been directed, verse fourth, to feed the flock; but after he had fed them for some time, he was "grieved at them," and "their souls loathed him." He renounces his office, and represents himself as demanding wages for his service. Having received a pitiful allowance, Jehovah is represented as saying, "Cast it into the treasury," or "Cast it to the potter," adding ironically, "Goodly the price at which I was valued by them!" Jehovah considers the wages of the prophet his own wages; or the contempt of his minister, the prophet, the same as the contempt of himself. According to any just rules of interpretation, the shepherd, referred to in this chapter, is the prophet Zechariah, who says, "Jehovah spake to ME;" and if the passage prove any one to be identical with Jehovah, it is the prophet himself, the writer of it. Even if we admit, as is supposed by most of the old interpreters, that Zechariah was a

type of Christ, we see not why the passage should not prove the type to be identical with Jehovah, as well as the antitype.

But, although we should allow that Christ alone, to the exclusion of the prophet Zechariah, is denoted by the shepherd in connexion with the passage in question, the obvious meaning would be, that mean wages were offered to God, because they were offered to his minister or representative, the shepherd whom he commanded to feed the flock. There would, then, be no more difficulty than in the verse, "He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me." Mat. x. 40.

In regard to the supposed quotation of the verse in question in Matthew xxvii. 9, the resemblance of the one to the other is so slight, that Rosenmueller, Kuinoel, and other critics suppose that Matthew quotes from some apocryphal book, ascribed to Jeremiah. If the Evangelist refer to Zechariah, he must refer to it, as to Hosea xi. 1, in chap. ii. 15.

The next passage adduced by Hengstenberg in support of his views is that in Psalm xlv. 7. This psalm is evidently the production of some courtly bard in praise of a king on the occasion of his marriage. That the old interpreters, who supposed, that a part of a psalm might be applied to a contemporary of the poet, and a part of it to one who should live hundreds of years afterwards, without any regard to the connexion, or without any intimation by the writer of a change of his subject, should suppose the Messiah to be referred to in this psalm, is not so very strange. An allegorist, too, we know, can extract any meaning from any thing. Nothing is too hard for an allegorist. But that any interpreter, who supposes, as the obvious laws of interpretation require him to suppose, that the psalm has but one person for its principal subject, should imagine this subject to be the Messiah, and the Messiah to be the Supreme Being, is passing strange.

The sixth verse taken by itself, in the language of the Common Version, may undoubtedly suggest the idea of the Supreme Being to the ear of an English reader, who has not attended much to the use of the word God in the Old Testament. But when the poet speaks in the next verse of the person thus addressed having himself a God, and of being exalted by him above his fellows, when he speaks of his garments smelling of myrrh, aloes, and cassia, and of his queen

and waiting-women, in verse ninth, and of his children in verse sixteenth, we should suppose, that the idea that the Supreme Being was the subject of verse seventh would be put to flight. From all these circumstances, we should suppose that any one, though he knew nothing of the Hebrew or Scripture usage respecting the word "God" as an appellative, or generic term, would yet conclude that it was not the Supreme Being, who was addressed in the line, "Thy throne, O God," &c. We should suppose, that, if he were only acquainted with English literature, he would conclude that a person in some respects *Godlike* was intended. But when we know that the term "God" is in the Old Testament often used as an appellative, and applied to others besides the Supreme Being, to angels, magistrates, and kings, it is surprising that any one should cling to an interpretation so much at variance with the general contents of the psalm.

That the term *God*, אֱלֹהִים is applied to appointed instruments, or representatives of God, or to those who resemble him in power and dominion, such as judges, rulers, and especially kings, is well known; but, to save any reader the trouble of reference, we will repeat the proof of it. Exodus vii. 1, Jehovah says to Moses, "Behold, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh." It has been said that Moses is not called absolutely God, but a God to Pharaoh. Still, however, it is a case in point to show, that the term might be applied to one, who resembled God in authority and power, who was a representative of God. If Moses might be said to be a God to Pharaoh, on account of the relation in which he stood to Pharaoh, others might be called gods more generally and indefinitely on account of the relation which they sustained to a whole people. And we find that this was in fact the case. Exodus xxii. 28. "Thou shalt not revile the Gods nor curse the ruler of thy people." Here the last line explains the first, and shows that by "Gods" are intended magistrates. So xxi. 6. "And his master shall bring him to *the judges*," literally the *Gods*, the אֱלֹהִים. So xxii. 8, 9, "The cause of both parties shall come before the *judges*, and whom the *judges* shall condemn," &c. 1 Sam. ii. 25, "If one man sin against another, *the judge*, or *judges*, shall judge him." In all these cases the word translated *judges*, is the same אֱלֹהִים, which is elsewhere translated *God*. I am aware that some modern critics of eminence, as Gesenius and De Wette, have maintained that the term is not applied to inferior magistrates, or to angels, but only to kings.

They suppose that the parties were said to be brought before God, and to be condemned by God, because they were condemned by the magistrates assembled in a sacred place. But if we should allow that those, who were brought before the magistrates, might be said to be brought before God, there is no evidence of such an infallibility being imputed to the judges, that they, whom they condemned, might be said to be condemned by God. This is certainly harsh. The two critics above mentioned, while they assert that the term *God* is not applied to judges, still maintain that it is applied to kings. We believe that the older interpreters were right, nearly all of whom agree with the authors of the Common Version in supposing the term to be applied to judges. There is nearly the same reason, why the term should be applied to Hebrew magistrates, who excelled in dignity, or who were objects of reverence, before the regal government was established, as to kings afterwards.

In Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6, are clear instances in which the term is applied to kings.

> "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty,
> He judgeth among the gods."
>
> "I have said, Ye are gods,
> And all of you children of the Most High."

Our Saviour well knew what the Hebrew usage was, when he said, "He called them gods, to whom the word of God came." John x. 35.

One other instance we shall adduce of the application of the term God, אֱלֹהִים, to a person not the Supreme Being. It is that in which it is applied to the form, or shade, which is said to have risen at the bidding of the witch of Endor. This instance is the more remarkable, as the term is here applied to a single person. In the common version, indeed, we read, "I see *gods* ascending out of the earth." But that the term should be rendered in the singular, "I see *a god* ascending," &c., is plain from what follows; "And he said to her, What form is *he* of? And she said, *An old man* cometh up; and he is covered with a mantle."

Whether the term "god" was applied to Samuel because he was a ghost, or because he had the appearance of a judge or magistrate, has been doubted. We are inclined to believe that the term would not have been applied to the shade of a common man. At any rate, it is applied to one, who was not the Supreme Being.

If, then, it be a fact that the term God, אֱלֹהִים, is often applied to magistrates and kings in the Old Testament, surely a Hebrew poet, enthusiastic in the praise of the great king, whom he describes, might naturally address him by the appellation, *O God*, meaning *O godlike*, or *mighty, king*.

Thus far, our remarks have proceeded on the supposition that the common version of the verse in question is correct. But the truth is, that the line in the original is extremely ambiguous, and admits of several renderings, having, perhaps, as good a claim to reception, as that of the Common Version. Gesenius supposes an ellipsis of כִּסְאֲךָ in the line, construing it thus, כִּסְאֲךָ כִּסְאֵא אֱלֹהִים, and translating "Thy throne shall be a throne of God for ever and ever," that is, it shall be upheld and prospered by God. Without supplying the ellipsis, the line may be rendered, "Thy throne shall be God's for ever and ever," and explained as above. It is well known that the Hebrew genitive expresses almost every kind of relation.

A similar construction of the Hebrew was formerly adopted by the celebrated Jewish critic Aben Ezra, though he assigned to it a meaning somewhat different, if we understand the quotation from him in Poole's Synopsis, *ad loc.* He refers to 1 Chron. xxix. 23, where it is said, "And Solomon sat upon the throne of Jehovah." We suppose that Aben Ezra understood the meaning to be, The throne of Jehovah, that is, the throne of Israel, shall be thine, &c.

Another construction is that found in De Wette's Version of the Bible. "Thy throne of God," that is, thy divine throne, thy throne given and upheld by God, "shall stand for ever."

Another well known construction is, "God is thy throne for ever and ever." To this construction there is no grammatical objection; but as "sceptre" is the subject of the following line, it is probable that "throne" is the subject, not the predicate, of the parallel line.

We can perceive no valid objection to the interpretation of the line in question by Gesenius, but are not sure that it is preferable to that of the Common Version. On either supposition, as we have seen, the doctrine of the Deity of the Messiah receives no support from this psalm. This, by the way, has been acknowledged by eminent Trinitarians. Even Professor Stuart of Andover, though he had used the verse as a proof-text in his "Letters to Dr. Channing," after more mature investigation changed his mind respecting it. In his "Commentary on the

Epistle to the Hebrews,"* he says, (Heb. i. 9,) "This king is called אֱלֹהִים, θεός. Does the word θεὸς here denote the *divine* or the *kingly* nature or condition of the Messiah? Most interpreters, who admit the doctrine of the Saviour's divine nature, contend for the first of these senses; as I have myself once done, in a former publication. But further examination has led me to believe, that there are grounds to doubt of such an application of the word θεὸς in this passage. The king here called θεὸς has for himself a θεὸς; '*Thy God* hath anointed *thee*.' The same king has *associates* (μετόχους), that is, others who in some respects are in a similar condition or office. As *divine*, who are the μέτοχοι with the Saviour, to whom he is preferred? Besides, his equity, his government, his state, as described in Ps. xlv. *are all such as belong to the king Messiah.*"

As for the phraseology "Thy throne is *for ever and ever*," which has sometimes been supposed to afford an argument for the Deity of the possessor of this throne, it is a common Oriental idiom to express long duration. Dan. ii. 4. "Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in Syriac, O king, live for ever!" The language in question is not stronger than that, which is applied to Solomon in 1 Chron. xvii. 11—14. "And it shall come to pass, when thy days be expired that thou must go to be with thy fathers, that I will raise up thy seed after thee, which shall be of thy sons; and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build me a house, *and I will establish his throne for ever.* I will be his father, and he shall be my son; and I will not take my mercy away from him, as I took it from him that was before thee; but I will settle him in my house and in my kingdom *for ever*, and *his throne shall be established for evermore.*"

The next passage adduced by Hengstenberg is Isaiah iv. 2.

"In that day shall the branch of Jehovah be glorious and honorable,
And the fruit of the land excellent and beautiful
For them that have escaped of Israel."

"Here," says Hengstenberg, "by 'the branch of Jehovah' is denoted the divine, and by 'the fruit of the land' the human

* p. 294, 2d Ed.

nature of the Messiah." He considers "branch" as synonymous with "son," and hence infers it to be of the same nature with Jehovah. Of course our remarks above on the phrase "Thou art my son" apply *à fortiori* to this expression.

To us it appears probable, that the "branch of Jehovah" does not denote the Messiah in this passage. In this opinion we are supported by Grotius, Calvin, Michaelis, Gesenius, and others. The connexion with the following verse, and the parallel expression "fruit of the land," which is nowhere applied to the Messiah, and is an unnatural one to be applied to him, lead as to prefer one of the following explanations. The expression under consideration may denote a new reformed generation of the Jewish people. The meaning will then be, that although the tree, which represents the nation, should be in a great measure destroyed, yet a branch or sprout would issue from its roots, which would have a new and flourishing growth. This explanation is fortified by chap. vi. 13,

> "Yet as, when the terebinth and the oak are cut down,
> Their stem remaineth alive,
> So shall a holy race be the stem of the nation."

But we are inclined to prefer the following exposition of the passage, mentioned by Gesenius in his Hebrew and Latin lexicon. צֶמַח, *branch*, is often used in a collective sense, to denote the produce of the earth. See Gen. xix. 25; Hos. viii. 7; Ezek. xvi. 7; Ps. lxv. 11, (10.)

Taken in this collective sense, the produce, growth, or harvest, of Jehovah, may denote the productions of the land sacred to Jehovah, or under his peculiar care. So the throne of Israel is called the throne of Jehovah in 1 Chron. xxix. 23, and in xvii. 14, quoted above, Jehovah speaks of the kingdom of Israel as being *his* kingdom. The parallel expression "fruits of the earth or land" favors this interpretation. The meaning then will be, that the land of Israel shall be more fruitful and afford an ample supply for the wants of those, who survive the calamities of exile. Calvin takes צֶמַח in this collective sense, understanding "the harvest or growth" in a spiritual sense, as denoting a growth of grace.*

The next passage referred to by Hengstenberg is Is. vii. 14, where he says the Deity of the Messiah is denoted by the term *Immanuel.*

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* See Poole's Synop. *ad. loc.*

The answer to this is two-fold. First, that the term is here applied to a child, that was to be born in the time of the prophet; a child who was to be a sign to Ahaz, king of Judah, of the deliverance of his kingdom, within two years, from the forces that were brought against it. This is evident from the context, and has been admitted by respectable Orthodox commentators; among others, by Professor Stuart of Andover, who says, in his "Commentary on Hebrews," "How could the birth of Jesus, which happened seven hundred and forty-two years afterwards, be a sign to Ahaz, that within three years his kingdom was to be freed from his enemies. Such a child, it would seem, was born at that period; for in ch. viii. 8, 10, he is twice referred to, as if then present, or at least then living." Vol. II. p. 355.

We will not now inquire, in what way the passage was applied to Jesus by St. Matthew. It is sufficient for our purpose, that the term *Immanuel* cannot prove the Deity of the Messiah, unless it prove also the Deity of a child that was born in the time of the prophet Isaiah.

Secondly, the term admits of easy explanation without supposing it to denote the Deity of the person, to whom it is applied. In the language of the Scriptures, God was said *to be with* a people, or a person, when he *aided* them, or *preserved* them, though there were no visible manifestation of his presence. Thus Ps. xlvi. 11,

> "The lord of hosts *is with us;*
> The God of Jacob *is our refuge.*"

Exod. iii. 12, "And he said, Certainly *I will be with* thee." So Gen. xxvi. 3, 28. God *was with* Ahaz and his people, when he *aided* them to overcome their enemies, and, as a *sign* of this aid or deliverance, the term *Immanuel, God with us*, that is, *is with us*, (*with* is the emphatic word) was given to the child. We suppose the epithet *God's-help*, or *Help from God*, expresses the full meaning of Immanuel.

We have no doubt that there is an ellipsis of the finite verb in all those cases, where the name of Jehovah is applied to persons and things. Thus the name of Elijah, or *God-Jehovah*, was undoubtedly applied to the prophet in the sense, Jehovah *is* God. Perhaps the relative "*to whom*," is also understood, as in other cases. Thus, Elisha, "*to whom* God *is* a help"; Eliab, "*to whom* God *is* a father," &c.

In this connexion we may remark upon Jeremiah xxiii. 6, which is thus translated in the Common Version. "In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; and this is his name, whereby he shall be called, The Lord our righteousness."

Our first remark upon this verse is, that the term Jehovah proves nothing of the nature of the subject, to which it is applied, because it is applied to the city of Jerusalem in xxxiii. 16. The phrase "Jehovah our righteousness" will prove the city of Jerusalem to be the Supreme Being as well as the Messiah. "This is the name, whereby she shall be called," &c. לה. But we have no doubt that the Common Version is wrong, and that the following is the true meaning.

> "In those days shall Judah be saved
> And Jerusalem shall dwell safely,
> And this is the name, which shall be given her, Jehovah-is-our-salvation."

Thus, whether this symbolical name be given to the Messiah, as in Chap. xxiii., or to the city of Jerusalem, as in xxxiii., it will refer to the salvation and safety, mentioned in the preceding lines, and denote that they proceed from Jehovah. צֶדֶק is used in this secondary meaning in other parts of Scripture, as is generally allowed. The primitive meaning of the word being *righteousness*, by an easy transition it came to denote the *favor of God*, which is the consequence of righteousness, and hence *blessings, salvation*, which flow from the favor of God. By introducing the substantive verb, we see how the name may be given to a city, as well as to a person. So the name of a place is elsewhere called Jehovah-shammai, that is, Jehovah *is* or *was there*. Ezek. xlviii. 35.

The next passage referred to by Hengstenberg, is, Is. ix. 6, which stands in the Common Version thus. "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of peace."

We well remember the time when this text appeared to us an unanswerable argument to prove the Deity of the Messiah. We now wonder that it should be so regarded by any one, even if the common version of it be correct. The cause of what we regard as the popular error in regard to this verse,

and other passages of Scripture, is want of attention to the Hebrew use of the term *God*, as an appellative, or generic term. We Christians are taught from our earliest years to consider the term *God* as the proper name of the Deity, and as applicable to him alone. But it was not so in the times when the Bible was written. The name, as has been shown, was applied to various personages, besides the Supreme Being. If we have a proper view and feeling of the Jewish use of the words translated *god*, and if we reject from the verse under consideration the definite articles which are not in the original, and read "mighty God, everlasting father," instead of "*The* mighty God, *The* everlasting father," we shall have no difficulty in perceiving, that "mighty god," and "everlasting father," are epithets, which might naturally be applied by a Hebrew poet and prophet to the mighty king, expected as the Messiah, without intending to identify a child that was to be born, a son that was to be given, and that was to sit upon the throne of David, with Jehovah; especially if we pay proper attention to the conclusion of the passage, "*The zeal of Jehovah of hosts will do this.*" It was Jehovah that was to give this son, raise up this mighty God, this perpetual father of his people, and establish him in his kingdom.

The remarks made upon the use of the term *God* in a former connexion apply *à fortiori* to the use of it in this place; as the original אֵל has a lower claim to be considered an exclusive appellation of Deity, than אֱלֹהִים. If, then, Moses might be called God, because he was a minister of God to Pharaoh, if those judges and kings might be called gods, who resembled the Supreme Being in the power which they exercised, or in being, like him, objects of reverence, well might the epithet *mighty God* be applied to that glorious king, that first-born son of God, higher than the kings of the earth, whom the zeal of Jehovah of hosts was to raise up for the deliverance of his people.

That the epithet *mighty God* was used to denote the greatness or excellence, the condition or character, of the personage, to whom it is applied, that is, to state *what sort* of a personage he was to be, rather than *who* he was to be, is evident from the circumstance, that the other epithets applied in this verse to the royal child that was to be born, viz. *wonderful, counsellor, everlasting father, prince of peace*, all denote qualities of character or circumstances of condition. It is

extremely improbable, it is unnatural, that, in the midst of four epithets, all descriptive of qualities of character, or circumstances of condition, a fifth should be inserted, declaring who he should be, or giving him a proper name. Let us suppose the name of a human personage thus inserted. Let the passage read "His name shall be called wonderful, counsellor, the mighty Solomon, the perpetual father [of his people], the prince of peace," that is, peaceful prince. We see, immediately, the incongruity of a proper name in this place, unless we understand it as denoting *character*, as describing one, who should resemble Solomon in wisdom and glory. So if "mighty God" be the proper translation, the connexion requires that we should understand by the expression, *mighty, godlike personage.*

But the truth is, that the Hebrew word אֵל, rendered God in this verse, has another meaning, perfectly suited to the connexion. We have only to turn to any Hebrew lexicon to ascertain, that the radical meaning of the word is *power, strength;* and that it is applied in the Scriptures to a mighty personage, a hero, a potentate. The same word is applied to Nebuchadnezzar in Ezek. xxxi. 11, where he is styled אֵל גּוֹיִם, "*mighty one*, or *hero*, of the nations"; in the Septuagint, ἄρχων ἐθνῶν. In Ezek. xxxii. 21, it is rendered *strong* and applied to human beings. אֵלֵי גִבּוֹרִים, *the strong among the mighty*, that is, the mightiest heroes. So in Job xli. 25, (Heb. 17.)

We think the following to be a correct translation of the passage.

> "For to us a child is born,
> To us a son is given,
> And he shall be called
> Wonderful, counsellor, mighty potentate, or hero,
> Everlasting father, prince of peace."

The epithet is then no higher than is applied to human beings. It is, indeed, appled to the Supreme Being in ch. x. 21, as it well may be, as an appellative, or a generic term. God is there called *the mighty potentate*, as he is elsewhere called, a man of war,* a glorious king; the meaning being, that the remnant shall return to him, who is in truth the mighty hero, or potentate, from their subjection to him, who vainly styled himself the great king, the king of Assyria.

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* Exod. xv. 3. Ps. xxiv. 8.

The translation above is that of Martin Luther, in his German version of the Bible, except that he separates mighty from hero by a comma. It is also adopted by the most eminent German Hebraists, as Gesenius and De Wette.

As to the epithet *everlasting father*, we understand it to mean, that the prince described in the verse should be the perpetual guardian and friend of his people. The rendering *father of eternity*, which is said to mean *eternal*, is neither so agreeable to the Hebrew idiom, nor so well suited to the epithets which precede and follow it, and has the support of few scholars of any denomination.

Hengstenberg next refers to Is. xi. 4, in which, he says, divine power is ascribed to the Messiah in the language,

> "He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth,
> With the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked."

But all the power ascribed to the Messiah in this verse is accounted for in verse 2, where it is said that

> "The spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon him,
> The spirit of wisdom and understanding,
> The spirit of knowledge and the fear of Jehovah."

We think, moreover, that if due allowance is made for the highly figurative language, which prevails throughout this chapter, nothing even supernatural is implied in verse fourth. It only sets forth *the righteous decrees*, or *sentences*, which should proceed from the lips of the great king, the shoot from the stem of Jesse.

Hengstenberg also refers to verse tenth of this chapter, which stands thus in the Common Version: "And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; *to* it shall the gentiles *seek;* and his rest shall be glorious."

Our readers would be at a loss to imagine how this passage proves the identity of the root of Jesse with Jehovah, unless expressly informed of it. He derives his argument from the word *seek*, which he says is used in a religious sense. But that this word, or the original דָּרַשׁ, with, or without a preposition, is *always* used in a religious sense, so as necessarily to imply the object of it to be the Supreme Being, is not true. The original meaning of the term probably was to *tread*, or

trample, with the feet, hence *to seek, to repair to, to frequent;* hence, according to the object of *seeking, repairing,* &c., it came to denote seeking the favor of any one, asking advice of a familiar spirit, * or a prophet, † or of God. Thus in 2 Chron. i. 5, it is said, that Solomon and all the congregation sought unto the altar, that is, repaired to it. In Deuteronomy xii. 5, the children of Israel are commanded to seek unto *the place,* which the Lord should choose. Amos v. 5. "Seek not Bethel." It follows from these instances, that, although, in Is. xi. 10, the nations were said to seek to the Messiah, or to the standard of the Messiah, *with religious purposes,* yet that he or his standard was not the *object* of these purposes, any more than the altar or the place of the tabernacle in 2 Chron. i. 5, Deut. xii. 5. We believe, however, that the verse means nothing more, than that the nations shall repair to the standard of the Messiah for protection and favor, as from a mighty king. If any thing more is implied, it is, that, by the act of repairing to the standard of the Messiah, they professed allegiance to Jehovah of hosts, whose minister the Messiah was.

The next passage referred to by Hengstenberg is Micah v. 1, (2), which stands thus in the Common Version: "But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be Ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." "Here," says he, "the eternal pre-existence of the Messiah is placed in contrast with his origin from Bethlehem and his birth from a woman."

But a more correct translation is,

> "Whose origin, ‡ or descent, is from ancient times, from the days of old."

The Hebrew מִקֶּדֶם is the same, which is used in Is. xxiii. 7, to denote the antiquity of the city of Tyre. It is the same which is translated "of old" in ch. vii. 20. "Thou wilt perform the truth to Jacob, and the mercy to Abraham, which thou hast sworn to our fathers, from the days *of old.*" It is applied to mountains, Deut. xxxiii. 15. In Nehem. xii. 46, it is applied to the days of David. See also Ps. lxxvii. 5, 11, cxliii. 5; Is. xlv. 21, xlvi. 10; in all which it denotes merely ancient times.

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* 1 Sam. xxviii. 7. † Ezek. xiv. 7.

‡ For the meaning *descent* given to מוֹצָאֹתָיו, see Gen. xvii. 6, "Kings shall *descend,* or *originate,* from thee."

As to the other expression מִימֵי עוֹלָם, *from the days of old*, which is rendered *from everlasting* in the Common Version, so far from necessarily denoting eternity, it *never* has that meaning in the Old Testament. Nor is it so translated in the Common Version in any other passage. It is the same, which is used, and correctly translated, in Mic. vii. 14; Is. lxiii. 9, 11; Mal. iii. 4; Deut. xxxii. 7. The natural meaning of the passage is, that the Messiah is to descend from the ancient family of David. Another interpretation, equally consistent with Unitarian views, is that of Calvin, who understands the verse to mean, that the going forth of Jesus from Bethlehem was *designed* by God of old, &c.

"In verse third of this chapter," says Hengstenberg, "the power of God is attributed to the Messiah." It reads thus in the Common Version. "And he shall stand and feed, [that is, govern,] in the strength of the Lord, in the majesty of the name of the Lord, *his* God."

And this language is brought to prove the Deity of the person, to whom it is applied. Who does not see that it proves the reverse? and who that is acquainted with the phraseology of Scripture does not know, that it might be used of any pious king? Thus in Ps. lxxi. 16, David says, "I will go in the strength of the Lord God."

The next passage referred to by Hengstenberg, is Hosea iii. 5. "Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days." "Here *to seek David their king*," says Hengstenberg, "must be used in a religious sense, since it is applied to him in the same way as to God." But 1 Chron. xxix. 20, where it is said that all the congregation of Israel "bowed down their heads, and worshipped the Lord and the king," furnishes a stronger argument to prove the literal David to be the Supreme Being, than this verse does to prove the Messiah to be so. The verb בָּקַשׁ is used in 1 Kings, x. 24, "And all the earth *sought to* Solomon." Prov. xxix. 26, "Many *seek* the ruler's favor."

The obvious meaning of the verse is, that all the sons of Israel, who are represented, in the verse preceding, to be without religious ordinances, and without government, shall be united in the pure worship of God, and under the government of a descendant of David.

Hengstenberg supposes also, that the term "his goodness," in the latter part of the verse, denotes the Messiah. But the plain meaning of the term, and the general usage of Scripture in relation to it, show, that the favor of Jehovah, in distinction from the favor of strange gods, is what is meant by the prophet.

The next passage referred to by our author is Dan. vii. 13, 14. "I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days and they brought him near before him; and there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom," &c. "Here," says Hengstenberg, "is intimated the connexion of the human and divine nature in the Messiah. He is in form like a man, *but he appears in the clouds of heaven.*"

We can hardly bring ourselves to treat an argument of this kind with respect. Here one, like a man, (as it should be rendered,) one, who came to the Ancient of days, one, who *was brought* near to him, one to whom a kingdom *was given*, is maintained to be the Supreme Being, because he is represented as appearing in the clouds of heaven. Did not ten thousand times ten thousand angels also appear to the vision of Daniel, as exalted as he, who was borne on the clouds of heaven? ver. 10.

We believe with Grotius, that he is said to come with the clouds of heaven to denote the swiftness of his motion,* rather than his dignity. Though, if the latter be denoted, it by no means follows that he was the same being with "the Ancient of days," to whom he was brought.

The next passage adduced by our author is Mal. iii. 1, &c.

> "Behold, I will send my messenger,
> And he shall prepare the way before me;
> And the Lord, whom ye seek,
> Shall suddenly come to his temple,
> And the messenger of the covenant, whom ye desire;
> Behold, he shall come, saith Jehovah of hosts."

"Here," says Hengstenberg, "the Messiah is called '*the Lord*, whom ye seek,' a name denoting the Supreme Being, and this Lord refers to the same person as 'me' in the

* See μετὰ πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο. Hom. Od. ii. 148.

preceding verse." He says, moreover, that the temple was usually ascribed to Jehovah as his peculiar possession, and yet, in this chapter, the Messiah is said to come to *his* temple. "He must, therefore," says Hengstenberg, "be the true God and united to Jehovah *by an inward oneness of being.*"

To us it appears that this passage admits of three explanations more probable than that of Hengstenberg. In the first place, the word הָאָדוֹן does *not* necessarily denote the Supreme Being. Without the article it is everywhere applied to human beings. It is true, that when the word with the article is used absolutely and independently, as a name of distinction, it is applied only to the Deity, setting forth his character, as lord of all things, of the Universe. But in this verse, where it is said, "The Lord, whom ye seek, shall come," &c. the article is evidently used as a demonstrative pronoun, and the word under consideration might be applied with it to any ruler, who was an object of expectation; *ille* dominus, quem, &c. "*that* lord, whom ye seek." As to the declaration, that this Lord should come to *his* temple, the prophet might have conceived of the temple as the Messiah's, as the minister and messenger of Jehovah, and the place where he was to begin and discharge his ministry.

As to the assertion that "the Lord, whom ye seek," is identical with "me," in the preceding line, it needs proof. For it is perfectly in accordance with the language of Scripture, to suppose that Jehovah *came*, when he raised up the lord, whom they sought, and sent the Messenger of the covenant, whom they desired. Thus in Is. xl. 3, 9, 10.

> 3. "A voice crieth, Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of Jehovah,
> Make straight in the desert a highway for our God.
> 9. Say ye to the cities of Judah, Behold your God;
> 10. Behold the Lord Jehovah cometh," &c.

Few intelligent readers will deny that this passage relates, at least primarily, to the manifestation of the power of Jehovah in bringing back the Jews from the captivity at Babylon. Yet no one supposes that the Supreme Being came *visibly* and *personally* for the purpose. Jehovah is said *to appear* or *to come*, when remarkable effects are wrought by his aid, whatever may be the instrumentality, through which it is afforded, whether animate or inanimate. Thus, in Psalm xviii., he is said to have "bowed the heavens and come down," when by

means of a tempest he aided David to overcome his enemies. In Is. xli. he is said to have come, when his power was manifested through human instrumentality, viz. by raising up Cyrus for the deliverance of his people.

> " Who hath raised up from the region of the East
> Him, whom victory meeteth in his march ?
> Who hath subdued nations before him,
> And given him dominion over kings ?
> Who made their swords like dust,
> And their bows like driven stubble ?
> He pursued them, and passed in safety,
> By a path, which his foot had never trodden.
> Who hath wrought and done it ?
> I Jehovah, I, the first;
> I, the last."

In the same way, if this chapter refer to the times when Jesus appeared, Jehovah came to his people and his temple, when he raised up a " Saviour, who was Christ the Lord," " the Mediator of the new covenant," imparting to him the spirit without measure, so that he spake as never man spake, and performed miracles, which no one could have performed, unless God were with him.

If, then, the Messiah be denoted by " the Lord, whom ye seek," there is no evidence, and no probability, that the prophet conceived of him, as identical with Jehovah.

But, secondly, if we admit what is, perhaps, most probable, that by " the Lord, whom ye seek," is intended Jehovah, manifesting himself, in the temple recently built, as *the ruler* and *judge* of his people, as he did in the days of old, a manifestation, which the prophet and his contemporaries might be looking for with great anxiety, then the Messiah is not denoted by the expression under consideration. The change of person from the first to the third, although there is no change of the subject, is very common in Hebrew poetry. If, as Hengstenberg himself maintains, the name הָאָדוֹן is a term applied to designate Jehovah alone, and if the mention of his " coming to his temple," proves that the term is applied to him, then where is the proof, that the Messiah is designated by the term ? I know of no argument, unless it can be shown, that the conjunction ו in the following line, must necessarily be translated *Even*, as in the Common Version, instead of *And*, as we have

translated it, and as it is translated in all the ancient versions. We hope it is not necessary to prove that the conjunction ו may be translated *and*. Perhaps some may suppose that the *parallelism* requires, that "the messenger of the covenant," should be regarded as the same person as "the Lord, whom ye seek." But whoever will read the book of Malachi will perceive, that the *parallelism* is very little regarded by him, and that no argument can be drawn from it in this case. When it is said, then, "And the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, and the messenger of the covenant whom ye desire," we may understand the Supreme Being to be denoted by "the Lord, whom ye seek," and the Messiah by the "messenger of the covenant." Thus in Titus ii. 13, we read of "the glorious appearing of the great God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

There is yet another explanation of the passage in question. It has been supposed, that by "messenger, or angel, of the covenant," is meant the Supreme Being, and that there is no express mention of the Messiah in the chapter. In this case, "angel" is supposed to denote some manifestation of the divine presence, by which the covenant had been, or would be, given. The usage of the term in Gen. xlviii. 16, is adduced in favor of this explanation. "May God, before whom my fathers, Abraham and Isaac, did walk, the God, which led me all my life long unto this day, *the angel*, which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads!" See also Zech. xii. 8.

We have now gone through the weary labor of remarking upon all of one class of texts, adduced by Hengstenberg, and published under the authority of the learned in this country, for the purpose of proving the Deity of the Messiah from the Old Testament; — the weary labor we say, because the subject presents so little difficulty to our minds, that we have felt as if we were explaining what was plain without explanation, and arguing where no argument was needed. But knowing that what is plain to us, is not so to a very large portion of the Christian community, we have endeavoured to give our reasons for the rejection of what we regard as a very great error. We have said nothing of the inconsistency with reason of the doctrine we have opposed, or even of its inconsistency with the emphatic declarations and the general tenor of the Old Testament concerning the unity of Jehovah; but have purposely based our arguments on the plainest principles of interpretation.

We regard the subject as important, not only as relating to a class of passages of Scripture, which are extensively misunderstood, but because, as has been hinted before, the manner in which the doctrine of the Deity of the Messiah, or the doctrine of the Trinity, might be expected to be taught by Jesus and his Apostles, depends much upon the question, whether it were taught by them as a new doctrine, or merely alluded to by them as one already existing and established. Any one who is, after careful examination, convinced that these doctrines are not to be found in the Old Testament, will hardly be able to satisfy himself that they are revealed in the New.

In some future number we propose to examine another class of passages adduced by Hengstenberg, viz. those, in which mention is made of the "angel of Jehovah," who is supposed by our author to be identical with the Messiah.

G. R. N.

ART. II. — *Observations on the Influence of Religion upon the Health and Physical Welfare of Mankind.* By AMARIAH BRIGHAM, M. D. Boston: Marsh, Capen, & Lyon. 1835. 12mo. pp. 331.

A FORMER work by Dr. Brigham on a kindred subject, "Remarks on the Influence of Mental Cultivation upon Health," was favorably noticed in this Journal,* soon after its appearance. The present publication bears marks, on almost every page, of having proceeded from the same pen, — curious, versatile, and satiric, — not always equally profound or discreet, but still generally both amusing and instructive, and, even when in error, not often offensive. Writing as he does in the very heart of Connecticut, (for he is a physician in extensive practice at Hartford, in that State,) we should indeed think, that the freedoms taken by him with some of the great Orthodox movements of the day would not be likely to win for him in that quarter canonization. Perhaps, however, as he writes with the air of one who has no particular point to carry, nor any

* Christian Examiner for March, 1833. Vol. XIV. p. 129.

party to serve, and as if prescribing to a patient rather than arguing with an opponent, his strictures, caustic as many of them are, may be taken in good part, even by those on whom they bear most heavily. At any rate, we suspect that in the most Orthodox communities, and even in Orthodox churches, among intelligent laymen, there are many who will feel the truth and force of most of his allegations, and be glad to find that one of their own number has had the courage and independence to publish them to the world. Besides, whatever Dr. Brigham may think of particular dogmas, or of particular manifestations of the religious sentiment, there can be no doubt in any fair mind, that he recognises and venerates the sentiment itself, and would not knowingly do any thing to hinder its cultivation and developement, or its legitimate influences, either in individuals, or in society at large.

In order to give greater completeness to the work considered as a general survey of "the influence of religion upon the health and physical welfare of mankind," the author is led in the first three chapters to allow more space, than was, we think, required, to accounts of such abuses and enormities, practised under the name of religion, as human sacrifices, mutilations of the body, and other like austerities. Popular discussions of such topics are not, as it seems to us, to be encouraged any further than is absolutely necessary from their bearing on existing evils; as their obvious tendency, at least in regard to the uninformed or the ill-informed, is to induce, not merely a salutary distrust, but a general and heartless skepticism. The statements contained in these chapters are shown, however, to be applicable in various ways to modern times, and to the condition of things in our own country. Thus, in speaking of the Flagellants of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Dr. Brigham says:

"Something of this practice has lately been revived in the State of New York, and, for aught we know, may be continued at the present time; though it was there resorted to for a different purpose. The people did not flagellate *themselves*, in this case, but parents practised whipping their children, as a religious duty, to make them, (as they termed it,) 'submit themselves to God.' It prevailed in Oneida county, in that State, in 1832, though I cannot believe to any considerable extent. It was several times alluded to about that period, in the 'Journal and Telegraph,' a Calvinistic religious paper published at Albany, the editors of which

paper, state that 'the fact is susceptible of ample proof.' The chief details I have seen respecting the practice, are contained in a letter from the venerable and Rev. Henry Davis, D. D., late President of Hamilton College, in the western part of the State of New York. The letter was published in the 'Journal and Telegraph' of June 1st, 1833.

"Dr. Davis states, that it is true that such a practice has prevailed in Oneida county. He refers to a pious lady who said 'she had used this method (whipping) with all (or some) of her own children, and had *brought them in*,'—(meaning hereby that she had *converted* them,)—and 'that one of them she whipped three times before she succeeded in doing it.' One other pious lady stated that she whipped her daughter, then thirteen years of age, with a corset-board, for this purpose; and that to this course she was urged by another pious woman, who lent her the instrument of flagellation. It should be added in justice to these pious women, that according to Dr. Davis, their efforts were successful, and the girl, after this treatment, 'promised to submit to God.'

"Dr. Davis says further in his letter, that a Reverend clergyman of the Oneida Presbytery—'a man who has been regarded *as possessing more than ordinary talents with unquestionable piety and discretion*, and whose praise is in all the churches, was asked by a lady, in his presence,—"What do you think, Sir, of the practice of whipping children, to induce them to promise to give themselves to God?" He replied,—"I think there is much to be said in favor of it. We whip our children to induce them to submit to our authority. They are rendered kind, affectionate, and obedient by it. Submission to God, is the same in kind. Both are of a moral nature. Why not use the same means in both cases to produce the same effect? Solomon says—'foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him.'"'

"How considerable may have been the influence and effect of such arguments and observations, from clergymen of 'unquestionable piety and discretion,' in continuing and extending the very reprehensible practice of whipping children until they 'promise to submit to God,' I do not know. I am pleased, however, to see from Dr. Davis's account, that some women hesitate about resorting to it. He mentions one woman, who, on being urged to adopt this new process of conversion, replied that 'she must have more *light* before she could do so."—pp. 61–63.

Much of the next chapter is given to a consideration of the history and scriptural authority of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in regard to both of which our author takes Quaker ground. So far as these are purely theological questions, they

evidently have not fallen much within our author's ordinary range of reading or study, and accordingly we are not surprised to find how unsatisfactory and defective his argument here is. For example, in commenting on the scriptural grounds of the Lord's Supper, he makes no account whatever of Paul's testimony, though it is on this, and on primitive usage, that many make the perpetual obligation of the service chiefly to depend. One valuable hint, however, is to be gathered even from this chapter, as regards the mischief done by the indiscreet, we had almost said the impious, tampering with the communion by fanatics in the Temperance cause. After adverting to the scruples manifested by many against the wine used on that occasion, Dr. Brigham tells us, that —

"Some have proposed cider as a substitute, this being the common drink and natural production of this country, as wine was of Palestine. A Reverend clergyman of this town told me that tamarind water was used in some churches, and the New York 'Christian Intelligencer' of July 4th, 1835, says, 'We hear of churches introducing tamarind water, and molasses and water — for the wine-cup; and recently we have heard of a church using buttermilk.' A late writer in the Connecticut (religious) 'Observer,' who is known to be a highly respectable and venerable clergyman in an adjoining town, is opposed even to pure wine, cider, &c. &c. He says — 'Not a drop of liquor which can produce intoxication, ought the church ever to use in the celebration of the Lord's Supper.' The question appears to be deemed by many of the clergy of this country a very important one, and is awakening much discussion. How it will be decided, time only can determine."— pp. 121, 122.

Further on he adds :

"I know it may be said, that but a small quantity of wine is drank ; and I presume this is the fact generally ; yet I see by published statements, that some clergymen of experience, think that so much is often taken, as to excite the system, and even lead to habits of intoxication. The Connecticut 'Observer' for April 20th, 1835, contains a communication from a distinguished and aged clergyman * of a neighbouring town, who has many years been pastor of the church where he now officiates, in which he asks, — 'Is not much of the edification thought to be enjoyed by the divine smiles on sacramental services, *mere animal feeling*, excited by that hideous spirit?' — meaning, the alcoholic spirit contained in

"* Dr. Chapin, of Wethersfield."

the wine. Others tell us, of 'the deep, long swallow sometimes witnessed by the officers of the church when the cup is presented,' and state that 'reformed drunkards have gone directly from the communion-table to the tavern.' (See New York 'Evangelist' for June 27th, 1835.)

"These insinuations and statements are made by experienced clergymen, — men renowned for piety. Perhaps they are not exactly correct; still they may be, and, if so, they afford additional and strong reasons for discontinuing the ceremony entirely."— pp. 129, 130.

We are entirely incredulous as to the fact, that the wine now used at the communion is ever made the occasion of excess, or ministers in any way to a returning and unconquerable thirst for stimulants. But, allowing that one or two such cases have occurred, it is plain that the extreme rarity of the exceptions ought to prevent them from having any effect on the general rule; especially when we take into view the absolute hopelessness of long retaining within the bounds of temperance, or even of decency, under the other influences and temptations of society, an individual who is so easily, and under such circumstances, led astray. And yet, as we here see, it is by parading and giving way to these weak and paltry scruples, that some of our journals are doing not a little to confirm intelligent laymen, like Dr. Brigham, in their aversion or indifference to the institution.

Chapter Fifth contains some judicious and opportune remarks on the location and structure of places of worship, and on religious meetings held at unseasonable hours, or protracted from day to day, considered with particular reference to their influence on health. The author enters into a calculation, to show that a hundred-fold more injury is done in this country, so far as inducing nervous or pulmonary complaints among females is concerned, by the needless frequency of "night meetings," than by balls, theatres, and the other fashionable dissipations. Of "protracted meetings," he thus speaks:

"Those who take an active part in the exercises, are very often made sick by their unceasing toil and excitement. Hence we hear clergymen complain of being 'worn out,' — 'broken down,' — and 'exhausted," by their labors at such times, and during what are called revivals of religion, when meetings are always greatly multiplied. It is a singular, and to many a very mysterious fact, that most of the Calvinistic clergymen in this country are sickly. This arises, I presume, in part, from their sedentary habits, and

also from their gloomy and peculiar religious views; yet I believe it is often caused by their preaching, praying, declaiming, and exhorting most of the time. This, together with their mental anxiety, affects the nervous system, and causes much of the dyspepsia common among them, as I am led to believe by inquiry and reflection. When we consider their labor, not only on the Sabbath, but during the week, especially in the evening, and their constant exertions at protracted meetings, and at numerous religious and charitable societies, we surely need not wonder that they are unhealthy. Their predecessors in the ministry were healthy, though they preached twice on the Sabbath, and occasionally, though very seldom, in the evening or during the week; but they knew nothing of protracted meetings and numerous other meetings that now require much labor from clergymen.

"I have known several cases of severe disease, which I believe originated from attending protracted meetings; and several cases of insanity, which appeared to have the same cause, have fallen under my observation. An examination of the case-books of the lunatic establishments in New England, will confirm this statement. I surely do not intend to say that a great number, or a majority of those who attend a protracted meeting, will be likely to become sick or crazy. Most of those who attend are in good health, and are not easily affected or made sick, even by a course of conduct that is injurious to them; just as men will long appear well while using alcoholic drinks, though it ultimately ruins the constitution.* The mental excitement of others who are not healthy, and of delicate women and children, may carry them through, and apparently in very good health. In such cases, however, according to medical writers, though the injury received may not be apparent at the time, yet it will tend to develope at a future time a train of nervous diseases, which will last through life and extend to another generation."—pp. 170 – 172.

It is sufficiently objectionable, that adults should voluntarily expose themselves to the natural effects of such meetings; but what shall we say, when little children are made the passive in-

"* Dr. Miller, of Princeton, (see his letter appended to 'Sprague on Revivals,') alluding to camp meetings, which, as I have said, are very similar to protracted meetings, observes — 'They have always struck me as adapted, in their ordinary form, to produce effects on our intellectual and moral nature analogous to those of *strong drink* on the animal economy, that is, to excite, to warm, and to appear to strengthen for a time; but only to pave the way for a morbid expenditure of "sensorial power," as we say concerning the animal economy, and for consequent debility and disease.' These remarks are of course equally applicable to modern protracted meetings."

struments and victims of these measures. The following is part of an account of what is termed a "maternal protracted meeting," or "a protracted meeting of mothers and children," held at Bellville, Jefferson County, New York.

"'The next morning, at ten o'clock, we assembled in the same sacred place, bringing our little ones with us, and with tears of penitence raised them in the arms of faith to a risen Saviour. We felt his presence, and remembered his word, "Blessed are they that have not seen me and yet believe." Some appropriate passages of Scripture were then read, and explained to the children, by Mrs. Burchard, during which the ladies lifted up their hearts in silent, believing prayer, that the Holy Spirit would now, while the children were hearing, make his word "quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword," even according to his promise. The total depravity of the heart, the justice of a future punishment, the necessity of regeneration, the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, the duty of immediate obedience to the commands, "Give me thine heart," — "Repent," — "Remember *now* thy Creator in the days of thy youth," were simply taught them. The Holy Spirit evidently moved upon these little ones and worked in them to will and to do of his good pleasure.

"'The ladies then conversed with them separately; such as they found convinced of sin, and ready to repent, were placed on a seat by themselves. When all were seated, these were addressed particularly. Their lost condition as sinners, their duty to repent of sin, and give themselves and all they love to Christ, to be his for ever, were explained and illustrated, in a manner familiar to children. Christ was then presented as the sacrifice for sin, and the righteousness of the believer, and they urged to receive him now as their God and Saviour. It was a moment of intense interest; every little face bespoke the movements of a troubled soul, and every mother felt that God the Holy Ghost was urging his claim upon the heart of her offspring; and when we knelt to ask the regenerating power of the Spirit, it was with groanings that no language can utter. By *faith* we rolled them over upon the eternal purpose of Jehovah, and believed the word, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise."

"'The meeting continued five days; about thirty children, from four to fourteen years of age, were hopefully converted by the power of the Holy Spirit through the truth.'"— pp. 176, 177.

On which Dr. Brigham observes:

"Those who read the foregoing account, and fail to see the danger to be apprehended from such meetings becoming common, will not be convinced there is any danger, by any arguments I can use;

they must wait until they see it in the natural and obvious results of such meetings; in the multiplication of diseases of the nervous system, in the increase of epilepsy, convulsions, hydrocephalus, and insanity, and in a generation of men and women, weak and enfeebled in body and mind."— p. 178.

The next is a long chapter on "Revivals"; — longer, we think, than it need be. It is remarkable how generally correct notions on this subject are beginning to prevail.

"So extravagant and objectionable have been some of the late revivals and protracted meetings, that even the more intelligent revivalists have become alarmed. The Albany 'Telegraph and Journal,' a Calvinistic paper, of May, 1834, says, — 'A faithful report of a protracted meeting, would reveal one of the most horrible scenes of religious frenzy ever known in this country.' The same paper tells of 'boisterous and blasphemous expressions which have been heard from the pulpit,' and laments the 'extensive toleration of fanatical ministers,' and 'the errors and extravagance which threaten to desolate a portion of the church.' All this is said, not of the conduct of those of a different religious sect, but of the Calvinistic, Presbyterian, or Evangelical clergy of the present day."— pp. 235, 236.

Even Mr. Finney, it would seem, is making ready to push away the ladder; for he is here quoted as observing, in the first of his "Lectures on Revivals,"

"'It is very desirable that the church should go on steadily in a course of obedience, without these excitements. Such excitements are liable to injure the health. Our nervous system is so strung, that any powerful excitement, if long continued, injures our health, and unfits us for duty. If religion is ever to have a pervading influence in the world, it can't be so; this spasmodic religion must be done away. Then it will be uncalled for. Christians will not sleep the greater part of the time, and once in a while wake up, and rub their eyes, and bluster about, and vociferate a little while, and then go to sleep again. Then there will be no need that ministers should wear themselves out, and kill themselves, by their efforts to roll back the flood of worldly influence that sets in upon the church. But as yet, the state of the Christian world is such, that to expect to promote religion without excitements is unphilosophical and absurd.'"— p. 190.

In a note, Dr. Brigham pays a just tribute to this gentleman, which it gives us pleasure to copy.

"Owing to ill health, he has lately relinquished the charge of the Chatham-Street Church, in the city of New York, and accepted

a professorship of theology; but he no doubt now sways more minds in this country upon the subject of religion than any other one man, or probably any one hundred men. His Lectures have a very extensive circulation, and, though they contain much that I greatly regret and disprove of, yet they show that he possesses a vigorous mind. They are far more able and consistent than those of Mr. Sprague on the same subject. In fact, if religion is mainly to be promoted by revivals, as Mr. Sprague and the 'old-measure men,' assert, then the course pursued by the 'new-measure men,' of creating and keeping up great excitements, is, as Mr. Finney observes, the only one not 'unphilosophical and absurd.'"—p. 190.

But the most valuable part of the work before us, and we wish it had been extended even though to the abridgment or exclusion of other parts, is found in the seventh chapter, which treats expressly and scientifically of the tendency of undue religious excitement to produce insanity, and other diseases of the brain and nerves. We understand, that thorough-going revivalists make but small account, almost a jest, of here and there a case of incurable frenzy, or idiocy, occasioned by their extravagances in a particular district. The public generally, however, when properly informed on the subject, will view the matter, we cannot but think, in a somewhat different light. We understand, moreover, that the question is often gravely debated among the leading agitators at such times, whether a delicate female, in hysterical paroxysms, is really a subject of disease or of grace. As if the operations of the Divine Spirit so nearly resemble those of madness, or temporary insanity, that one may be easily mistaken for the other. It is not probable, that religious excitement *alone* often turns men into maniacs; but, coöperating with predispositions already existing in the constitution of the patient, or his state of health, it is more likely, by universal consent among competent judges, than any other one thing, permanently to disorder the mind. We cannot, therefore, repress our amazement at the thoughtlessness, the recklessness, with which persons, not otherwise wanting in good sense, will allow themselves or their children, when, from any cause, of a peculiarly excitable temperament, to be brought under the influences exposed and condemned in this work. We were particularly struck with the following statement.

"In every instance I have known of mental alienation produced by religious excitement, I have noticed that the alienation was pre-

ceded by some unreasonable or fanatical conduct, which at the time was not so considered, but even pronounced, by those who were themselves zealously religious, commendable, and as evidencing advancement in religious attainments. I am now attending a young man whose mind is deranged, and his brain, as I apprehend, diseased; which disease was apparently induced by strong religious excitement, and long attendance on protracted meetings. After he became awakened and converted, as his parents and instructors supposed, he soon become distinguished for his zeal and engagedness, and for his ability in prayer. The consciousness of this distinction, and the praise which his efforts elicited, with probably an increased degree of excitement in his own mind on the general subject of religion, determined him to strive for higher excellence, and he resolved to pray more, and to commit the whole Bible to memory. His mother became somewhat alarmed at this; but her fears were partially allayed by the assurance of one of their religious teachers, that 'young people were not apt to be too conscientious, or too much disposed to piety.' The youth therefore continued on, constantly striving to make himself more perfect, and finally resolved literally to fulfil the Scripture injunction to *pray always.* It was at this time that mental alienation was first perceived by his friends, though it had probably existed, in a degree, for weeks or months. Measures were then taken to restore him; which, however, will probably prove unavailing; a constant pain in the head, sleeplessness, and delirium, indicating settled disorder there."— p. 56.

Again our author says:

"But it should be borne in mind, that all the evils, resulting to the health of people from these excitements, are not developed in acknowledged insanity; but in numerous other complaints, *and in producing a tendency to insanity, which other causes may finally develope.* Thus, persons may be greatly excited on religious subjects, and not at the time become insane; but afterwards, on a reverse of fortune, loss of friends, or ill health, be affected with religious melancholy, though the latter causes would not probably have produced it if the predisposition had not been created by the previous excitement. I have known several cases of insanity which appear to have thus originated." — p. 296.

With one or two extracts more, we must tear ourselves away from this interesting discussion.

"No other disease, probably, is increasing faster in our country than insanity; and, from investigations recently made in several of the northern States, there is reason to fear that it already prevails here to a greater extent than in any other country. This, however,

is not strange; for insanity is a disease that always prevails most in countries where the people enjoy civil and religious freedom, and where all are induced, or are at liberty, to engage in the strife for wealth, and for the highest honors and distinctions of society. We need therefore to be exceedingly careful not to add other causes, to those already existing, of this most deplorable disease. And in nothing should we be more careful, in order to avoid inducing insanity, than in powerfully exciting the minds of the young, and particularly of females, and especially on religion. In all ages, this has been one of the most fruitful sources of this disease. Dr. Burrows, on this subject says — 'Were I to allege one cause, which I thought was operating with more force than another, to increase the victims of insanity, I should pronounce, that it was the overweaning zeal with which it is attempted to impress on youth the subtile distinctions of theology and an unrelenting devotion to a dubious doctrine. I have seen so many melancholy cases of young and excellently disposed persons, of respectable families, deranged, from either ill-suited or ill-timed religious communication, that I cannot avoid impugning such conduct as an infatuation, which, as long as persevered in, will be a fruitful source of moral evil. The old Romans knew human nature better; they had a law which forbade any person entering upon the sacerdotal office before the age of fifty. This was to prevent theological discussions before an age was attained, when a bad effect was not to be apprehended.' Other writers on this disease confirm the above statement. M. Georget says, — 'Excess of religious ideas produces different shapes of madness, according to the individual's character. Superstition united with ambition and the desire of empire, give birth to intolerant and persecuting fanaticism, to the desire of ruling in God's name, and of making converts. With the subdued spirit, *outrée* religion produces panophobia, fear of divine chastisement, and demonomania. Finally, its singular union with amorous passions, excites ecstatic love of God, the Virgin, or some saint.'

"'Strong emotions,' says Dr. Prichard, 'excited by vehement preaching, produce continually, in females and very sensitive persons, fits of hysteria, and in those who are predisposed to mania there can be no doubt that similar causes give rise to attacks of madness. *Cases, indeed, are of continued occurrence, which establish the fact.*'"—pp. 275–277.

Of one form of religious frenzy mentioned above, *demonomania*, our author thus speaks:

"I have seen several cases within the last year. Of all kinds of insanity, it is the most deplorable, and, as Esquirol and others have observed, it is very apt to lead to suicide. Many in this coun-

try believe they have committed 'the unpardonable sin,' and abandon themselves to despair; while others become so on being told from the pulpit (as is frequently done by some clergymen in this region), that if they have ever had their minds much excited on religious subjects, — or 'awakened' as they express it, — and have not encouraged those feelings and obtained a 'hope,' then, in all probability, their day of salvation is passed. These become religious melancholics, and not only often attempt to destroy themselves, but also their friends and dearest kindred. Pinel says, — 'One went away, after hearing a sermon that convinced him he was damned, and killed his children to spare them the same fate.' 'A young woman,' says Esquirol, 'after having experienced some domestic trouble, believed herself damned; and for six months she was tormented by a desire to kill her children, to save them from the torments of another life.' Many similar instances might be cited from medical books, but there are few people in this part of the United States, who have not witnessed such in their own neighbourhoods. I have the particulars of above *ninety cases* of suicide from religious melancholy, which have occurred in six of the northern States (the New England States and New York) within the last twenty years, and most of them have occurred within a very few years; and also, of thirty cases in the same States, of this disease leading the unhappy sufferers to kill or attempt to kill their children or dearest relatives, believing they should thereby ensure the future happiness of those they destroyed. I have heard of many more cases of a like character, and have seen accounts of others in the public papers, and have no doubt, that if all, which have occurred in the northern States within the last twenty years, could be known, together with those cases of insanity from similar causes, but not attended with the propensity to self-destruction or to the destruction of others, the great number would as much surprise and grieve the friends of humanity, as did the first published accounts of the ravages of intemperance in this country. The difficulty, and I might say the impossibility of obtaining correct accounts of all such cases at the present time, and the impropriety of being more particular in regard to those that are known, I need not point out."—pp. 290–292.

In this chapter, as well as in the next and last, advice is given to clergymen, and to parishes in regard to the choice of clergymen, which both parties would do well to consider. But we must pass it over.

After the extracts given above, we entertain no doubt, that most of our readers will be desirous to become still better acquainted with the volume from which they are taken. Curious

and various as it is, it cannot of course be recommended without qualification. Like most other books, it must be read with a discriminating mind; and when so read, it can hardly fail of doing much good. Ed.

Art. III. — *The Boston Book; being Specimens of Metropolitan Literature, Occasional and Periodical.* Boston: Light and Horton. 1836. 12mo.

This handsome volume is in some respects a new thing under the sun; and that, for the Age of Books, as this is, if not a merit, is at least a wonder. In this case it is an agreeable one; for both the design and the execution of the little work before us, though perhaps not wholly faultless, and at all events not assuming to be so, are yet characterized by an excellent spirit.

It is something to say, and to be able to say, of a book in these days, that it has a design; and something more to be able to add, that it is a good one; an apparent one also; and that the Author, or Editor, has manifestly been aware of these facts, and of the importance of them, and has conscientiously and sedulously kept them in mind. Small confidence put we in a scheme we have known to be recommended by some of the moderns, not to say, practised upon by some others, of a man's making a work at the expense of the public, instead of his own. We hold rather, in all honesty, that, though he may write, certainly, what he pleases, in this free country, and publish, too, for that matter, (with the ordinary responsibilities to its laws,) it is nevertheless no more justifiable, *in foro conscientiæ*, to try these crude experiments, as such, upon the capacity of the body politic, than for the dealer in new nostrums in another department of quackery, to institute operations on his individual sufferer in the same summary way. However, to pass to "The Boston Book," — it is a relief, we say, to see that it has a drift, and a plain and good one. The Preface (Mr. H. T. Tuckerman's, it is said,) explains rather the method of the compilation, than the principle of the plan. The title, and that is another virtue, conveys the notion in a word. It is a Bostonian book, and was meant to be so, and that implies not only a particular thing, but a good deal. It implies, — it would

be a sorry case with the city, at least, if it did not, — not alone that the contributors are, as the Editor mentions, with a single accidental exception, natives of Boston, or present or past residents; and that there was, and is, as every body knew before, abundant material in this quarry for a book, and for a good one, upon this plan; but that such a one has been actually made. It implies the spirit, of course, as well as the letter and the name of the plan; a 'metropolitan' and a Bostonian, as well as a republican and an American spirit. It implies a selection and a collection, both, of the right sort, as in the main they are; a value in the parts, and an adaptedness in them to each other, and to the whole; and that whole calculated, and we suppose intended, to exhibit, — at least so far as it goes, and in such limits can be expected to go, — the modern literary genius of the city. To what precise extent it has actually succeeded in the developement of this design, we do not propose to discuss in detail. It may suffice that such is the design, and that it has been distinctly followed out. Every reader must infer that it could not be so, under the charge of an editor of taste, without evolving, as it has done, much matter for various and profitable reflection.

Setting aside the consideration of this first principle, as we consider it, of the plan of the book, it was to be expected that a compilation of this sort, not fastidiously chosen, as usual with such compilations, and as charily perhaps as the members of the daintiest dinner-party, from the range of the whole country, not to say the world of literature, at large, — but geographically gathered, — gregariously, as it were, — compelled, rather than compiled, together, — and that upon the ground-plot, too, of the little peninsula of Shawmut; it was to be expected, that such a compulsory process of bringing persons together, — without introduction to each other, or intimation to any body else, — "all sorts of people," — would be as unsuccessful, jostling, multitudinous, awkward an affair, as the dinner-party itself possibly could be, were it mustered, of an equal size, upon the same principle. All sorts, we said. Characters, we mean, that were never brought together before, and never will be again; the known and unknown; the illustrious worthy, with those

> "Of whom fame speaks not with her clarion voice,
> In regal halls,"

as yet, but *will;* the laity with the clergy; the master with

the man; the uneducated and the self-educated, by the side of the learned and wise; in a word, all sects, parties, and classes; and all fallen upon, and put together, promiscuously, and whether they will or not. A hazardous experiment, this; and not to have failed in it, the best test of having succeeded. It might have turned out a mere Babel of a business, in some hands. It had much in it of the elements of a "fierce democratie," as it was. These, however, were well counteracted and controlled; discreetly diversified; well *seated* (to resort to our old simile once more): and, what is better, there was found to be in them, after all, a congenial, cordial spirit; a sympathy, substantial and circumstantial, founded upon all that was common among them, and that was a good deal. There was a fine silvery vein running through all their otherwise discordant contributions, and acting as the conductor of a mental magnetism, which alone, were it left to itself, would as it were have arrayed them, and stayed them, in the regular circles of their gradations just and "nice dependencies." They went together, in fact, to make up a Boston book; better than other places could make, on the same plan, we certainly should not say; but different, distinctive, *unique*. We flatter ourselves, that, even had the titles and authors of the articles been disguised, we should still have recognised it for what it is.

The variety of a volume so composed, the lively variety of the parts, as much as the harmony of the whole, may be inferred from what we have said. It is probably much more striking in a book of selections than it could have been in one of original matter, were such a thing, upon this plan, practicable. There is more character, more raciness, in it. The company who contribute here, were called on without warning, and their literary premises ransacked for 'specimens' *ad libitum*, and with express reference generally, we suppose, to the purpose of showing up what was considered, on the whole, the prevailing and peculiar style and spirit; *the* style and spirit of the man. If the same individuals had been invited to write, and especially with *that* express purpose in view, the intimation itself would have disabled them. Their character was to be taken, as a painter would like to take their faces,—by surprise. So has our editor caught them. They have not sat for him, but their shadow was cast on the wall as they passed him, and he has preserved it.

It would be easy to mention instances in point. Nothing

can be more characteristic of what is most peculiar in the genius of Mrs. Child, and most pleasing at the same time, than "The Indolent Fairy." The specimens of Willis are exquisite; of their kind, unsurpassed; "The Blind Mother," for example, which, since it was inserted here, we presume, has gained a deserved admiration from those who are competent to judge of its merits abroad. The prose piece, on "The Sea at Nahant," also: — we *can* "hear," as he bids us, how at low tide, "it rushes in beneath the rocks, broken and stilled in its tortuous way, till it ends with a washing and dull kiss among the sea-weed; and, like a myriad of small, tinkling bells, the dripping from the crags is audible. There is fine music in the sea!" — We can *see*, how, when the beach is bare, "the cave begins to cool and darken, and the first gold tint of sunset is stealing into the sky, and the sea looks of a changing opal, green, purple, and white, as if its floor were paved with pearl, and the changing light struck up through the waters;" and *there*, as he tells us, "heaves a ship into the horizon, like a white-winged bird, lying, with dark breast, on the waves, abandoned of the sea-breeze within sight of port, and repelled even by the spicy breath that comes with a welcome off the shore." What a contrast to this is the piece which precedes it, and how eloquently beautiful in its own way, — the "Ursa Major" of Mr. Ware. The passages of Dr. Channing and Dr. Beecher, of Dewey and Greenwood, of Pierpont, Whittier, Mrs. Gilman, and others, are all equally individual; as much so, and as different from each other, as they well can be. These are curious diversities, with a sort of family likeness which we yet fancy may be seen among them; corresponding contrasts; strong peculiarities, and even eccentricities; assimilated nevertheless, as we imagine, by the *genius loci*, the Boston spirit, which more or less prevails through them all.

The number of names which are here collected, — some sixty or seventy, we suppose, — much exceeds what even the Editor, when he commenced his task, could have expected. We think, indeed, that as much may be inferred from the increasingly fragmentary and crowded character of the specimens towards the close of the volume. Hence some, which were postponed, have suffered. The "Shakspeare Ode" of Sprague has lost something of its fair proportions, which, on the whole, we consider an unjustifiable maiming; nor can we aver with a clear conscience, that the extracts from Webster, Dana,

Palfrey, Ticknor, and a few others, are much more satisfactory. We should, perhaps, have been willing to sacrifice several second specimens (of the same writers) to the hope of making some of the single ones more complete.

The index, we say, must have grown upon the Editor's hands. Bostonians were found scattered all over the country, as Yankees are apt to be, — not to say over the world, in all directions. Contributions were received from South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, and so on. Mrs. Gilman, Bulfinch, Dawes, Pike, and others, whose claim to a place here will at first be disputed by many readers, were found to be Boston-born. Many of perhaps equal distinction, we venture to say, might have been added; still more to the list of the "past residents" in the city; and that without going back, as the Editor suggests he could have done, for infinite treasures which he has not touched, to "the times of Mather," to Franklin's Essays, to "the occasional fruits of Buckminster's elegant mind or Tudor's racy pen," or even to "the beautiful compositions to which the Anthology club gave birth." The mere mention of these stages of Boston Literature, as they may be considered, is sufficient to indicate how far the Compiler of this volume, as crowded as it is, has been from exhausting the region he has undertaken to explore. "Omissions," indeed, are alluded to in the Preface. There are some few of such as every reader will do him the justice to believe accidental; addenda, as he suggests, to another edition. Our most distinguished American historian is, of course, one of that number. We incline to the belief that another volume, about as valuable and as large as this, might be made of those who do not appear here, — of the city writers, we mean, — at the same time that we suppose the number already of these brought forward, whose right to the place they hold will be generally recognised, is at least twice as great as most intelligent persons among us, without much reflection, would be prepared and have expected to see.

It will be inferred, that though we consider this compilation, in a literary and moral point of view, an excellent one on the whole, we could be quite reconciled to the loss of a part of its number, so far as that sacrifice would restore the proportions of the rest. Many things in it, however, very many, could not be spared; such specimens of genius, and such numbers of them, as to entitle the book almost to the character of a cabinet

of gems. "The Pilgrim Fathers," which every body knows by heart, "The Paint King," the "Ursa Major," Miss Townsend's "Incomprehensibility of God," "The Departed," "The Widow of Nain," the "Shakspeare Ode," "The Spirit's Song of Consolation," and several more among the poetry, — and as many at least of the prose specimens, — are illustrations of the correctness of this compliment, as extravagant as it may seem.

Some of them are by writers who scarcely avow themselves to be such, and are specimens, indeed, not so much of what they have done, as of what they may do. Portions of others, if not the whole of them, admit of the same remark; the last stanza of the "Impromptu," for example;—

——"and memory
Is all that can remain—
The Indian summer of the soul,
That kindly comes again—
Reviving, with its souvenirs,
The loves and hopes of early years."

"And still more greenly in the mind," we read in Mr. Croswell's "Advent," —

"Store up the hopes sublime
Which then were born for all mankind,
So blessed was the time;
And underneath these hallowed eaves
A Saviour will be born,
In every heart that him receives,
On this triumphal morn;"—

a piece to be admired for its sublime simplicity, as much as for its pure religion. The dignity of the sentiment sounds, as it were, through the music of the words. It *rings* to us like the church-chime in the serene air of a sweet sabbath morning.

Rockwell's "Absent Husband," and Miller's "Shower," may be named together as specimens, *not* of what they may do, but of what they might have done; men of high poetical genius, both: — specimens indeed, rather of their genius, than of their power, for both were in the habit of striking off their productions "at a heat." The "Shower" itself, if we mistake not, as perhaps the manuscript of it may still show, suggested as it was by the scene it described, and composed while it continued, was almost an improvisation. In reads so. How fresh, fragrant, racy; how like a summer shower! The

thoughts seem absolutely to have the rain on them, like his own flowers.

"The grateful things
Put on their robes of cheer;
They hear the sound of the warning burst,
And know the rain is near."

Rockwell wrote with the same impetuosity, and the same inequality, standing at his types sometimes, we dare say, as we have seen him. He did not know how to "take pains," as it is called. If words favored him, as here—

"And the violet sunbeams slanted,
Wavering through the crystal deep,
Till their wonted splendors haunted
Those shut eyelids in their sleep.
Sands, like crumbled silver gleaming,
Sparkled through his raven hair—" &c.

it was well; but at all events he dashed on. There are some other curious passages of this sort. — We are gratified to see the names of Buckingham, Holbrook, and Apthorp, added to this melancholy list, not so much of specimens, as of mementoes.

It would be pleasant to dwell a little on some of the topics suggested by the very sight and name of this volume. It might not be an altogether unprofitable labor, especially, to point out, as we think it not difficult to do, those operating causes to which distant allusion has been made when we spoke of a family likeness between the parts of this collection, and of what we have called a Boston spirit, or, in foreign phrase, the genius of the place. Something could, perhaps, be said, in the same connexion, of the "Institutions of Boston," which Mr. Quincy has but referred to in the eloquent passage upon that subject the Editor has here selected from his writings; on those Institutions, we mean, which directly or indirectly, and that most powerfully beyond a doubt, affect the literary character of the city, and which also are in a great degree peculiar to it. This, however, would lead us too far.

We close then, as we began, with saying, that the Boston Book is a good one in itself; a good compilation; and that the design, more particularly, will bear to be recurred to, and repeated, hereafter. It is such as to justify the pains which are necessary to improve and perfect the execution. Its deficiencies are those of a first experiment. Its excellencies are its own.

B. B. T.

ART. IV. — *Sermons on Various Subjects, chiefly practical.* By ROBERT ASPLAND, Minister of New Gravel-pit Chapel, Hackney. London. 1833. 8vo. pp. 496.

THESE Sermons have been two years before the public in England. We first met with a copy on this side the water only a few weeks since, or we should have taken an earlier opportunity to bring them into notice, not less out of respect for the author, than a desire to call attention to his excellent discourses.

Mr. Aspland is less known in this country than might be expected from the influence and long established reputation he has acquired at home, not only among Unitarians, but among Dissenters generally. He edited for many years, with industry and spirit, "The Monthly Repository." He established and edited, at the same time, "The Christian Reformer," which now, in an enlarged form, and still under his management, is a useful and extensively circulated Journal. The cause of Liberal Christianity in England is much indebted to his faithful and laborious services. His manner as a speaker at public meetings, and in the pulpit, is earnest and impressive. A friend, recently from England, says that he heard him preach, at Mr. Fox's Chapel, decidedly the most powerful and impressive sermon which he heard while abroad, from any preacher of any denomination. It produced a very perceptible effect upon the congregation, and was spoken of in terms of strong feeling by many persons. For twenty-eight years, he has been minister of New Gravel-pit Chapel, Hackney. At the united request of this Society, as we learn from the following passage in the Dedication, the volume before us was printed.

"The Sermons are printed nearly as they were preached. In many respects, I am fully sensible that they might have been improved by deliberate and slow revision; but I was restrained from attempting any great alterations, by the feeling that I should not show becoming deference to your flattering request, unless I published them in substance as they were delivered."— pp. iii, iv.

When writings are to be published, however, and the world constituted judges, and the work itself is to have its share of influence in forming the literary taste, as well as in moulding the moral character of the age, this deference to the partial

judgment of friends may be carried too far; and in one or two instances we cannot but regret that Mr. Aspland did not make the "deliberate and slow revision," of which he speaks. Thought like water runs with a deep, strong, resistless current, in proportion as it is brought into a narrow channel, and in each case when the topic has been expanded into two sermons, as in the sermons on "Benevolent Social Intercourse," on "Every Man has his Proper Place in Society," and on "Retirement, Self-Communion, and Devotion recommended from the example of Our Lord," we think the subject would have been presented with more force, and a more distinct and vivid impression left upon the mind, had the style been more nervous, the illustrations shortened, and the whole compressed into one discourse. The extract we have just made from the Dedication, however, while it satisfactorily accounts for some slight defects and inaccuracies which, otherwise, would not have appeared, in a measure disarms criticism. Indeed we know of no literary productions that require or have such claims to be judged charitably as sermons, — we might add, there are none that are often so flippantly and unsparingly criticized. If the orator, with all the powerful aid which the peculiar events or circumstances, that give occasion for his address, are calculated to afford, make two or three good orations in the course of the year, — if the statesman, with all that there is of immediate and exciting interest in his situation, make one profound and powerful speech, during a session of Congress, it is enough to gain for him fame, reputation, influence. His claim to consideration is established. He is thought to have done a great work, and far be it from us to imply that he has not. We acknowledge that he has. But the clergyman has to prepare at least fifty orations or speeches in the course of the year. In each of these he is expected to be more or less profound, original, exciting, impressive. He must continually present truth in a new dress, and illustrate and enforce duty with "words sought out and set in order." It will be answered, perhaps, that he has a wide, vast, unbounded field in which to roam; that the subjects of which he has to treat are in their nature infinite and inexhaustible, opening to him the loftiest reaches of thought, feeling, and imagination. But the ever outstretched wing must sometimes tire. The eye that looks for ever from the mountain-top, must sometimes be pained and wearied by the very vastness of the prospect, and the finite mind must some-

times feel its limits and weakness, even in its study of the infinite and the eternal. The mind of the clergyman must be sometimes wearied and exhausted by the very greatness of the subjects he has to contemplate and unfold, and yet oftener by the multiplied cares and duties of a parochial nature which press upon him. But in the midst of these he *must write*, — write continually, unceasingly. Sunday will come, and he must be prepared, and often must the preparation be made in a hasty, hurried manner that comports not with excellence, or beneath a languor of body and of mind that cannot attain it. Compositions thus written, need consideration and candor in those who judge.

In the effect upon the profession, of the literary demands now made upon clergymen, there is much to gratify and awaken hope for the future improvement of the profession and the community, but something also to regret and apprehend. It cannot be denied that much more importance is now attached to the sermon than was formerly the case, and that one of the important objects of our public religious exercises seems to be in a great measure overlooked. We seldom now-a-days hear a person say, "I went to join the public worship of God at such a place," but "I went to hear Mr. Such-an-one preach." As Mr. Aspland remarks, in one of the sermons of this volume;

"Places of worship are frequented without a view to worship. The prayers are of little account, the Sermon alone of importance. * * * The church, as the church of Christ, is forgotten, and the preacher only regarded. Curiosity is stimulated by indulgence, and Sermons are valued in proportion, not to the light which they throw on the Scriptures, or the impression they make on the conscience, but either to the sum of novelty which they contain, — and in so beaten a road as morals and theology, novelty is very far from being the same as excellence, and they who are constantly striving after it, will be in danger of striking into eccentricity and running into folly, — or to their brevity, one of the modern standards of pulpit excellence, being the minimum of matter which a discourse obtrudes upon the hearer. As a consequence of this, hearers wander from their places, careful of their own gratification, and careless of the damps which their absence casts upon the spirits of their brethren. By degrees, local Christian attachments are worn out, gospel fellowship ceases, and if piety still lives in the heart, it is at the lowest degree of temperature under which it can subsist." — pp. 211, 212.

We would by no means imply, that these last sentences are

applicable to this community, or in any great degree descriptive of its condition. Though many hear with "itching ears," and, like the Athenians, ask for some new thing, there is but little wandering, and a good measure of strong "local Christian attachments." It is however a true account of the effect of this state of things upon the style of preaching. It is a temptation to many to forget the simplicity of the Gospel, and some of them do forget it. They aim at novelty, "which is far from being the same as excellence." They begin with the assertion of startling paradoxes, that they may excite attention, and then so illustrate and explain them, that they amount to nothing but truisms. They introduce into the pulpit, topics not suited to its dignity, nor bearing upon its great objects, however well they may be calculated to gratify a vain curiosity in the hearer, or to display the quaint conceits, and imaginative powers of the preacher.

But there is another side to the picture, full of interest and of hope. The diffusion of knowledge, the higher degree of intellectual cultivation in the community, which are the causes of the greater importance now assigned to the sermon in our public religious services, have imparted, and will continue to impart a quickening and stirring influence to the clergy. They have felt it. The charge often made, that religion is stationary, while in other things mankind are going forward, that the clergy are behind the age, is now without foundation. This conviction is strengthened in us by the volume under review, when compared with the Sermons of Lindsey, Rees, and their contemporaries. Religion is here exhibited as the times demand that it should be exhibited. Christian philosophy is applied to life in modes of illustration and reasoning that men can feel and comprehend; and, though the Sermons embrace a variety of topics, having little direct connexion with each other, they all aid in producing in the mind the deep conviction, that the great objects of existence are spiritual and eternal.

The second Sermon in this volume is entitled, "The Divine Dispensations a Series of Moral Discipline," in which the importance of looking upon the Jewish dispensation as only a "schoolmaster to bring us to Christ," and the effect of this view of Divine Revelation in silencing infidels and scoffers, are forcibly illustrated.

"Any one who should look at the mere apparatus of the Jewish religion, regardless of its ultimate design, would be in danger of run-

ning into one of the extremes of skepticism or superstition. But it is a miserable neglect and abuse of the understanding to dwell on the technicalities of a religious system, forgetful of its spirit. It is like studying human nature in the anatomy of a lifeless body, without any reference to the soul which gave to the body its life and grace and beauty, its intellectual power and moral character.

* * * * *

"Would men judge of Divine Revelation in this manner, there would be fewer objectors and no scoffers. True religion does not ask them to spare superstition or fanaticism. Either of these is as adverse to revealed religion as it is to common sense and human happiness. Philosophy, if it be, as it ought, the same thing as moral wisdom, mistakes its end when it separates itself from Christianity. No wise and good man can have an interest distinct from the design of the gospel. Single texts of Scripture may be of doubtful meaning; particular narratives may have a bearing that is not coincident with a favorite hypothesis; but it is not more certain that we have books explanatory of the Christian religion, than that those books inculcate a system of inquiry, independence of mind, tolerance and charity and brotherly kindness and every imaginable grace and virtue; a system, in short, which promotes in the highest degree the improvement of the mind and the exaltation of the moral character, and which is equally favorable to personal and social enjoyment and perfection. What more can any man desire for himself or others?

"Some persons are alarmed, more affect to be alarmed, at the progress of what is called infidelity. For one, I am free to avow that though I hold no conviction of my understanding more certain than the truth, and no sentiment of my heart dearer than the excellence of Christianity, I am notwithstanding quite satisfied with the state of the public mind. A great process has been carrying on, and we are now nearly arrived at the crisis. Those of us that are no longer young may hope to see the result. Judging from the signs of the times, I cannot doubt that the issue will be in favor of the rational gospel. Unbelievers have done unspeakable good in exposing and making men ashamed of the corruptions of Christianity. Without meaning or knowing it, they have been instruments in the hands of Providence for purifying and saving true religion. Such of them as are of pure mind and benevolent feelings, (and that there are such amongst them it were gross bigotry to deny,) have served the interests of real piety, although they may have carried their offerings to the altar of the Unknown God. They have opposed the Christian faith merely because they gave ear to the popular voice, and took for Christian, doctrines which are derogatory to the Divine character, revolting to the human understanding, and at war with the peace of the world and the

improvement of social institutions. Let them learn what the gospel is, a scheme for glorifying the Parent Creator by making the creature man happy, and great in his virtuous happiness, and they will be prompt to embrace it, and the first to lay themselves out for its promotion. They may not enrol themselves of any one church or sect; they may subscribe and assent to no given creed; they may be unable to define their faith or sentiment in words; but as far as they love goodness and aspire to intellectual and moral greatness, they are the disciples of Jesus Christ. This discipleship they will sooner or later be eager to avow; for every thing in nature, every thing in Providence, every thing in the human mind and every thing in the human heart, as it comes from the hands of its Maker, tends towards what is just in principle and benevolent in feeling; that is, tends towards Jesus Christ, in whom are fulfilled the highest thoughts of the wise and the best wishes of the good."— pp. 24 – 32.

We select the following from one of the most deeply interesting and impressive Sermons in the volume, "On Secret Joys and Sorrows."

"One class of joys and sorrows, particularly deserving of our consideration in this place, are more than others secret, I refer to those excited by a sense of religion, which, however they may be gratified and invigorated by social expression, can only be formed and exercised strongly in private. All vital religion begins with self-examination, which cannot take place till the mask in which we all meet in the world is taken off. They that live always in a crowd do not breathe the breath of heavenly life. It is in retirement that the soul learns to know itself, its imperfections, its wants, its supplies and remedies. * * * * * In the progress, as well as in the commencement of a religious life, there will be bitterness known to the heart only, and joy with which a stranger cannot intermeddle. Who that understands the purity of the gospel, and that knows himself, can avoid at times strong feelings of self-dissatisfaction, when he compares his opportunities with his improvement, when he reflects how small is his growth in grace measured by his advance in years, when he perceives how much better than he are many who have had fewer advantages, and when he considers the uncertainty of life and his probable nearness to that point of time which will decide his character for eternity? His discontent with himself will not be prevented by the consciousness of his having no directly sinful habits and indulging in no wilful sins: it is enough, in this frame of mind, to disquiet him and cast him down, that he has not run with sufficient diligence the race that is set before him; that if he be judged according to his deeds, not according to the Divine mercy, he shall be accounted "an unprofitable

servant;" and that but for the long-suffering of Heaven, he had been cut down as one that cumbereth the ground. — But humility, which prompts these feelings, will also confine them within the sanctuary of the heart. In their intensity they cannot be expressed, and no human counsel or advice can lift up the soul from the dust. Almighty Goodness alone can turn its captivity; and "to this man will I look, saith the Lord, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my word." In the light of the Divine countenance he now revives. Mercy rejoices against judgment, and hope triumphs over fear. There is no more condemnation. The spirit holds communion with the Father in heaven. The love of God is shed abroad in the heart. Through the medium of this love are seen all creatures in all places, and for time and eternity. Heaven is brought down to earth, and the soul, abstracted from the world, is filled with joy unspeakable and full of glory." — pp. 44 – 46.

Our attention has been attracted, in reading this volume, to the great variety of modes in which the author alludes to, and illustrates, the doctrine of Divine Providence. He has given us but one sermon directly upon this topic, yet in very many of the Sermons, there are brief references to some striking and convincing argument in favor of the doctrine; and what is thus brought into a Sermon incidentally, just touched upon and left, often has more power, and leaves a stronger impression, than a whole discourse upon the subject. The following passage from the Sermon "On the virtuous Use of Talents," is an instance of this.

"Fluctuating as all the individual component parts of society are, it is a manifest proof of a superintending Providence that the variety and relative fitness of its members are uniformly kept up. The equality in the number of each sex which prevails in most parts of the world, in all where the climate and manners are favorable to the perfection of the human being, has been often dwelt upon with advantage as an argument in favor of natural religion; and we may, I think, insist with as much propriety, in the same view, on the *well-regulated diversity that has been ever maintained in the talents and genius of mankind.* We could not fix upon any individual child as fit for this or that station or profession or calling; but we should be warranted by experience in pronouncing that in the present generation of children there will be found every power and all the skill that society wants or has ever called into exercise. No known talent has wholly failed. Some powers, as in poetry, painting, and sculpture, for instance, are wholly individual; they cannot be communicated from one to another; they grow and die

with the possessors; yet in civilized and highly cultivated society there is never an extreme dearth of these powers; they appear to be generally adequate to the necessity which there is for them. Like some of the most beautiful and fragrant flowers, they cannot be raised from their own seed, but may be safely reckoned upon here and there amongst more common plants. Such is the care of the Great Arbiter of human life, that, whilst there is sufficient uniformity in human nature to give the race a kindred feeling for each other, there shall be a sufficient diversity to distinguish individuals, to make them mutually serviceable, and to strengthen the common sympathy of nature by a sense of self-interest. And yet there are those who would war against the very principle of creation, and while our Maker displays his perfection in the regular variety, the boundless but proportionate differences in his creatures, would bend the puny force of human laws to compel an uniformity of faith, an uniformity of mind! Vain and senseless bigotry! which would strike out of nature all but one form, one color! which would extinguish the eye in the body, and have all head or all arm! which would amputate all of the mind but one common, one low branch of thought!" — pp. 134 - 136.

Our limits will not admit of further extracts. We have not done, and could not do, justice to Mr. Aspland in those we have made. We can only hope the notice here taken of the volume may gain for it a republication in this country in a form that shall place it within the reach of all. S. K. L.

ART. V. — 1. *Songs of the Affections, with other Poems.* By FELICIA HEMANS. 12mo. Edinburgh. 1830.
2. *National Lyrics and Songs for Music.* By FELICIA HEMANS. 12mo. Dublin. 1834.
3. *Scenes and Hymns of Life, with other Religious Poems.* By FELICIA HEMANS. 12mo. Edinburgh. 1834.
4. *The Poetical Works of* Mrs. FELICIA HEMANS: *complete in one volume. With a Critical Preface.* 8vo. Philadelphia. T. T. Ash. 1835.
5. *The Poetical Works of* Mrs. HEMANS, *complete.* 8vo. Philadelphia. Grigg and Elliot. 1835.

WE have now received the last of the imperishable gifts of Mrs. Hemans's genius. The period of her spirit's trials and

sufferings and its glorious course on earth has been completed. She has left an unclouded fame; and we may say in her own words:

"No tears for thee! — though light be from us gone
With thy soul's radiance; * * * * *
No tears for thee!
They that have loved an exile, must not mourn
To see him parting for his native bourn
O'er the dark sea."

As this, therefore, will be the last time that we shall review any production of Mrs. Hemans, we may be permitted to recall, with a melancholy pleasure, the admiration and delight with which we have followed the progress of her genius. The feelings with which her works are now generally regarded, have been expressed in no publication earlier, more frequently, or more warmly, than in our own.* Without repeating what we have already said, we shall now endeavour to point out some of their features considered in relation to that moral culture in which alone such writings can exist.

Mrs. Hemans may be considered as the representative of a new school of poetry, or, to speak more precisely, her poetry discovers characteristics of the highest kind, which belong almost exclusively to that of later times, and have been the result of the gradual advancement, and especially the moral progress, of mankind. It is only, when man, under the influence of true religion, feels himself connected with whatever is infinite, that his affections and powers are fully developed. The poetry of an immortal being must be of a different

* See a notice of her "Voice of Spring," together with the poem itself, in the Examiner for 1825, (p. 124;) her "Elysium," (p. 191.) In the volume for 1826, are several of her poems, Lines addressed to her (p. 283), a notice of the intended American edition of her Works (p. 172), and a Review of her "Forest Sanctuary and Other Poems," (p. 403.) In that for 1827, other poems; with a notice of her "Hymns for Children," first published in this country, (p. 529;) and in that for 1829, a review of her "Earlier Poems," first collected in this country, and her "Records of Woman," (p. 1.) We may add, that several of her poems were originally published in the Examiner, and others in the first volume of the earliest American edition of her Works. May the writer be permitted to express his regret, that the sale of this edition has not been such as to justify him in attempting to complete it? The two volumes published are among the most beautiful specimens of American typography. Two more of the same size would complete the undertaking.

character from that of an earthly being. But, in recurring to the classic poets of antiquity, we find that in their conceptions the element of religious faith was wanting. Their mythology was to them no object of sober belief; and, had it been so, was adapted not to produce but to annihilate devotion. They had no thought of regarding the universe as created, animated, and ruled by God's all powerful and omniscient goodness. To them it was a world of matter.

> " The fair humanities of old religion,
> The Power, the Beauty and the Majesty
> That had their haunts in dale, or piny mountain,
> Or forest by slow stream, or pebbly spring,
> Or chasms and watery depths,"

never existed except in the imagination of modern poets. The beings intended were "the fair humanities" of Ovid's "Metamorphoses," whose attributes, derived from the baser parts of our nature, were human passions lawlessly indulged, accompanied with more than mortal power. Gibbon, who was any thing rather than what he affected to be, a philosopher, speaks of "the elegant mythology of the Greeks." The great fountains of their popular and poetical mythology were Homer and Hesiod. Hesiod does not surpass Homer in the agreeable or moral character of his fictions, and as regards the elegance of the mythology found in the great epic poet, a single passage, if we had no other means of judging, might settle the question, the address of Jupiter to Juno at the commencement of the fifteenth book of the Iliad.

> " Oh versed in wiles,
> Juno! thy mischief-teeming mind perverse
> Hath plotted this; thou hast contrived the hurt
> Of Hector, and hast driven his host to flight.
> I know not but thyself mayst chance to reap
> The first-fruits of thy cunning, scourged by me.
> Hast thou forgotten how I hung thee once
> On high, with two huge anvils at thy feet,
> And bound with force-defying cord of gold
> Thy wrists together? In the heights of heaven
> Did I suspend thee. With compassion moved
> The assembled gods thy painful sufferings saw,
> But help could yield thee none; for whom I seized
> Hurled through the portal of the skies he reached
> The distant earth, and scarce surviv'd the fall.
>
> * * * * *

"I thus remind thee now, that thou mayst cease
Henceforth from artifice, and mayst be taught
How little all the dalliance and the love
Which, stealing down from heaven, thou hast by fraud
Obtained from me, shall favor thy designs."

It may be incidentally remarked, that these lines illustrate, not merely the features of the ancient mythology, but also the condition of woman as treated by the heroes of Homer and by his contemporaries. We happen just to have opened upon another striking example of the *elegance* of the ancient mythology during the Augustan age. It is a passage of Ovid, almost too indecent and silly to be alluded to, though Addison was not ashamed to translate it, beginning ;

"Fortè Jovem memorant, diffusum nectare, curas
Seposuisse graves, vacuâque agitasse remissos
Cum Junone jocos." *

From the passage referred to, we may judge something of the convivial manners of the Romans, and of the habits of intercourse between the sexes.

It is remarkable, that in all religious and moral conceptions, the noblest materials of poetry, the philosophers were very far in advance of the poets. "The fables of Hesiod and Homer," says Plato, "are especially to be censured. They have uttered the greatest falsehoods concerning the greatest beings." Referring to the loathsome and abominable fables about Cœlus, Saturn, and Jupiter, he says ; "We must not tell our youth, that he who commits the greatest iniquity does nothing strange, nor he who inflicts the most cruel punishment upon his father when injured by him ; but that he is only doing what was done by the first and greatest of the gods." A little after he subjoins ; "The chaining of Juno by her son, the throwing of Vulcan from heaven by his father, because he attempted to defend his mother from being beaten, and the battles of the Gods described by Homer, are not fictions to be allowed in our city, whether explained allegorically or not." "Though we praise many things in Homer," he says, "we shall not praise him when he represents Jupiter as sending a lying dream to Agamemnon, nor Æschylus when he makes Thetis complain of

* It is related that Jove chanced, being exhilarated by nectar, to lay aside his weighty cares, and interchange pleasant jokes with idle Juno.

having been deceived by Apollo." "When any one thus speaks of the gods, we are indignant, we grant no permission for such writings, nor shall we suffer teachers to use them in the instruction of youth." *

The poets of his nation did not, in Plato's opinion, represent their heroes as more amiable or respectable than their gods. "We shall not," he says, "suffer those of whom we have the charge to believe that Achilles, the son of a goddess, was so full of evil passions, as to unite in himself two opposite vices, avaricious meanness, and insolence towards gods and men. Nor shall we allow it to be said, that Theseus, the son of Neptune, and Perithous, the son of Jove, rushed forth to the commission of such abominable robberies, or that any son of a god or any hero committed those abominable and impious acts, which are now imputed to them in the fictions of the poets." "Such fictions are pernicious to those who hear them; for every bad man finds a license for himself in the belief, that those nearly related to the gods do and have done such deeds. They are, then, to be suppressed, lest they produce a strong tendency to wickedness in our youth." †

Such were the sentiments of the most poetical of Grecian philosophers concerning the religious and moral character of the poets of his nation; and he remarks in addition upon the gloomy fancies of Homer concerning the state of departed souls, as neither true nor useful, but adapted to produce unmanly fears, and therefore not to be listened to by those who, as freemen, should dread slavery more than death. During the period between Homer and Virgil, a misty brightness had spread over the poetic ideas of the future abodes of the blessed; but the Elysium and Tartarus of poetry were but fictions, awakening no serious hopes nor fears, and having no power over the heart. These imaginations of a future life were connected with no just and ennobling conceptions of the purposes of our existence, of the spiritual nature of man, or of that endless progress to which we may look forward. The heroes of Elysium found their delight in the meaner pleasures of this life.

"Quæ gratia currûm
Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repôstos.

* See *De Republicâ*, Lib. II. pp. 377—383.
† Ibid. Lib. III. p. 391.

Conspicit, ecce, alios dextrâ lævâque per herbam
Vescentes, lætumque choro pæana canentes.*

Thus the ancient poets were shut out from the whole sphere of religious sentiment; and all those numberless conceptions and feelings, that spring from our knowledge of God and the sense of our own immortality, are absent from their writings, while this whole exhaustless domain has been laid open to the poets of later times. A single example may illustrate what has been said. Let us take the concluding verses of Mrs. Hemans's "Fountain of Oblivion."

"Fill with forgetfulness! — there are, there *are*
Voices whose music I have loved too well;
Eyes of deep gentleness, — but they are far, —
Never! oh — never, in my home to dwell!
Take their soft looks from off my yearning soul, —
Fill high th' oblivious bowl!

"Yet pause again! — with memory wilt thou cast
The undying hope away, of memory born?
Hope of reunion, heart to heart at last,
No restless doubt between, no rankling thorn?
Wouldst thou erase all records of delight
That make such visions bright?

"Fill with forgetfulness, fill high! — yet stay, —
— 'T is from the past we shadow forth the land
Where smiles, long lost, again shall light our way,
And the soul's friends be wreathed in one bright band:
— Pour the sweet waters back on their own rill,
I *must* remember still.

"For their sake, for the dead, — whose image nought
May dim within the temple of my breast, —
For their love's sake, which now no earthly thought
May shake or trouble with its own unrest,
Though the past haunt me as a spirit, — yet
I ask not to forget."

The whole train of emotion and thought in these verses is of a character wholly unknown to the classic days of Greece and Rome. To imagine any thing corresponding to it in the work

* The love of horses which they had alive,
And care of chariots, after death survive.
In bands, reclining on the grassy plain,
They feasted and poured forth a joyful strain.
See Dryden's Virgil.

of an ancient poet, is to bring together conceptions the most incongruous.

Here it may be worth while, in order to prevent ourselves from being misunderstood, to observe, that we do not mean to depreciate the value of the study of the ancient poets. After those inquiries by which the truths of religion are established, there are none of more interest or importance than such as relate to the mind and heart of man, and open to us a knowledge of what he has been and what he may be on earth. But, to attain this knowledge, we must acquaint ourselves with the moral and intellectual character of our race, as it has existed and exists under influences and forms of society very unlike each other. In this research, no period can be compared in interest with a few centuries in the history of Athens and Rome, which have left traces still so deeply impressed upon the civilized world. Thus, in studying the history of human nature, the Grecian and Roman poets furnish some of our most important materials. We may discover in them a source of sentiments and opinions that still affect men's minds. Homer carries us back to remote Pagan antiquity, on which his writings shed a light afforded by no other; and at the same time, having been regarded as the undisputed master-poet by his countrymen, (for this Plato himself does not question,) he shows us what were the topics by which their imaginations were most affected during the period of their greatest civilization. The dramatic poets of Athens reflect the Athenian character; and in Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, we find the lineaments of the Augustan age. But the value which thus attaches to their works is not to be confounded with the absolute value of those works as poems, adapted through their intrinsic beauties to give delight at the present day. In estimating their naked worth, we must likewise separate from them the interest connected with their antiquity, and all those accidental associations that have been gathering round them for many centuries. We must even put out of view the native genius of the writer, if this genius have been exerted under circumstances so unfavorable as to render it ineffectual to produce what may give pleasure to a pure and highly cultivated mind. Notwithstanding the traditionary enthusiasm that has existed on the subject, it may well be doubted, whether their power of giving vivid pleasure merely as poetical compositions, forms a principal recommendation of the study of the ancient poets. They were not ac-

quainted with the richest realms of mind. It is a mistake to address them as "bards illustrious, *born in happier days.*" But to return to our immediate subject.

After the revival of letters, the forms of what was called Christianity, both among Catholics and Protestants, were in many respects so abhorrent to reason, or feeling, or both, that they could combine in no intimate union with our higher nature, however they might operate on men's passions or fears. Religious truth was, however, sometimes contemplated in greater purity by minds of the better class; and we early begin to find in poetry some expressions of true religious sentiment. But what advance had been actually made even in the seventeenth century, we may learn from the great work of Milton. It is based on a system of mythology, more sublime than the Pagan, and less adapted to degrade the moral feelings, but scarcely less offensive to reason, and spreading all but a Manichæan gloom and blight over the creation of God. Putting forth his vast genius, he struggles with it, as he can, moulding it into colossal forms that repel our human sympathies, and lavishing upon it gorgeous treasures of imagination; but even his powers yield and sink at times before its intrinsic incongruity and essential falsehood. Whoever rightly apprehends the character of God, or contemplates as he ought the invisible world, will turn to but few pages of the Paradise Lost, with the hope of finding expressions correspondent to his thoughts and emotions. We feel with pain the inappreciable contrast between the genius displayed in the poetical execution of the work, and the absurdity of its prose story. It is the opposition which this story presents to the most ennobling truths, even more than "the want of human interest," on which Johnson remarks, that gives to the poem the unattractive character of which he speaks, and which we believe is felt by almost all its readers.

Doubtless pure religious sentiment breaks out in this and in the other poems of Milton. The concluding line of his Sonnet on his blindness,

"They also serve who only stand and wait,"

and numerous other passages of similar beauty, have, we may believe, found an answering feeling in many hearts. But in speaking of those causes which have given a new character to the poetry of later times, it is not our purpose to trace their influence historically. Going back to the days of Grecian and

Roman civilization, we shall take only a few illustrations, that may serve to show more clearly the contrast produced by their absence on one hand, or their operation on the other.

In proportion as we contemplate the world from the height to which true religion conducts us, we perceive the circle of moral action widening indefinitely. Our duties toward the inferior animals are few and low, compared with those which we lie under to our fellow-men; and our duties toward our fellow-men become far more extensive and assume a far more solemn character, when we regard them, not as born to perish upon earth, but as commencing here an unending existence. Our obligations to others correspond to our means of serving them; and we are introduced to a higher class of virtues, as soon as we recognise in those around us beings forming characters for a different mode of existence, to whom the highest service that can be rendered is to assist their progress in virtue, and to whom some influence, good or evil, is continually flowing out from us, and diverging into channels of which we cannot see the termination. All interest in the spiritual and imperishable good of our fellow-men must depend upon our regarding them as spiritual and imperishable. It is only under a sense of our true nature, that man is capable of reaching the sublime thought of assimilating himself to God by devoting his powers to the moral welfare of his fellow-men.

"*Yet*, yet sustain me, Holiest! — I am vowed
To solemn service high;
And shall the spirit, for thy tasks endowed,
Sink on the threshold of the sanctuary,
Fainting beneath the burden of the day,
Because no human tone
Unto the altar-stone
Of that pure spousal fane inviolate,
Where it should make eternal truth its mate,
May cheer the sacred, solitary way?

"Oh! be the whisper of thy voice within
Enough to strengthen! Be the hope to win
A more deep-seeing homage for thy name,
Far, far beyond the burning dream of fame!
Make me thine only! Let me add but one
To those refulgent steps all undefiled,
Which glorious minds have piled
Through bright self-offering, earnest, child-like, lone,
For mounting to thy throne!

And let my soul, upborne
On wings of inner morn,
Find, in illumined secrecy, the sense
Of that blest work, its own high recompense."

But there is more to be considered. The conduct which would be wise and right for man if immortal, would not be wise and right for him if viewed as a perishing animal. It is true that moral good is always good, and moral evil always evil; but with an essential change in our nature and relations, there must likewise be an essential change in what is morally good or evil. If all human hopes were limited to this world, it would be folly for any one to act as if he and others were to exist for ever. The whole plan of life and of its duties, formed by a wise man would be quite different in one case from what it would be in the other; and the course of life actually pursued by the generality, if destitute of all religious belief, would be still more unlike that of men under its influence.

"Sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
Spem longam reseces." *

"Quid brevi fortes jaculamur ævo
Multa?" †

"Lætus in presens, animus quod ultra est
Oderit curare, et amara lento
Temperet risu." ‡

In the absence of religious faith, this is true philosophy. If this life were the limit of our being, its pleasures and pains would be the only objects of our concern. Nothing would be virtuous which tended not to the attainment and communication of those limited and perishing pleasures we might here partake; nothing morally evil, but what lessened our own capacity for enjoying them, or tended to prevent others from sharing them with us. There would be no sphere for the exercise of those powers, no object for those capacities of happiness, that belong to the imperishable part of our nature. There would be nothing to prompt one to great sacrifices or acts of moral

* Be wise, pour out your wine, and contract your hopes within life's narrow compass.

† Why in so short a life, do we, in our bravery, aim at so much?

‡ Joyous during the present hour, the mind should reject all care for what is beyond, and temper what is bitter with a gentle smile.

heroism; for these have their source in the consciousness of immortality, in a sense of our connexion with the infinite, and look forward to good for ourselves and others beyond the limits of life. Earthly motives afford no soil in which the nobler virtues can strike their roots. It is true that the ancients, particularly the ancient philosophers, were not without the influence of truly religious conceptions, and under almost any forms of opinion the better nature of man will of itself occasionally break out into exhibitions of excellence. But the religious sentiment being so weak and perverted among the ancient poets, we find little in their works that can be regarded as morally noble, and scarcely an indistinct recognition of those deep feelings and unearthly virtues which have their source in our spiritual nature. The same remark is almost equally applicable to a large proportion of the modern poets; for true religion has been little understood or felt by them. Where, in any age preceding our own, may we hope to find such expressions of sentiment as in the following verses from Mrs. Hemans's "Vaudois Wife." *

"But calm thee! Let the thought of death
A solemn peace restore;
The voice that must be silent soon,
Would speak to thee once more,
That thou mayst bear its blessing on
Through years of after life, —
A token of consoling love,
Even from this hour of strife.

"I bless thee for the noble heart,
The tender, and the true,
Where mine hath found the happiest rest
That e'er fond woman's knew;
I bless thee, faithful friend and guide,
For my own, my treasured share,
In the mournful secrets of thy soul,
In thy sorrow, in thy prayer.

* * * * *

"I bless thee for the last rich boon
Won from affection tried,
The right to gaze on death with thee,
To perish by thy side!

"* The wife of a Vaudois leader, in one of the attacks made on the Protestant hamlets, received a mortal wound, and died in her husband's arms, exhorting him to courage and endurance."

And yet more for the glorious hope
Even to *these* moments given; —
Did not *thy* spirit ever lift
The trust of *mine* to Heaven?

"Now be *thou* strong! Oh! knew we not
Our path must lead to this?
A shadow and a trembling still
Were mingled with our bliss!
We plighted our young hearts when storms
Were dark upon the sky,
In full, deep knowledge of their task
To suffer and to die!

"Be strong! I leave the living voice
Of this, my martyred blood,
With the thousand echoes of the hills,
With the torrent's foaming flood, —
A spirit 'midst the caves to dwell,
A token on the air,
To rouse the valiant from repose,
The fainting from despair.

"Hear it, and bear thou on, my love!
Ay, joyously endure!
Our mountains must be altars yet,
Inviolate and pure;
There must our God be worshipped still
With the worship of the free; —
Farewell! there's but *one* pang in death,
One only, — leaving thee!"

With this, may be compared the speech of Alcestis in Euripides, when dying in the presence of her husband, under circumstances adapted to call forth all that power of expressing the tender emotions, for which Euripides has been thought to be distinguished. We give it below in Potter's translation.*

* "Thou seest, Admetus, what to me the Fates
Assign; yet, e'er I die, I wish to tell thee
What lies most near my heart. I honored thee,
And in exchange for thine my forfeit life
Devoted; now I die for thee, though free
Not to have died, but from Thessalia's chiefs
Preferring whom I pleased in royal state
To have lived happy here: I had no will
To live bereft of thee with these poor orphans:

Under the influence of religion, we are acted upon by new motives, through the sense created within us, of the worth of our fellow-men. Religion invests them with a new character,

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I die without reluctance, though the gifts
Of youth are mine to make life grateful to me.
Yet he that gave thee birth, and she that bore thee,
Deserted thee, though well it had beseemed them
With honor to have died for thee, t' have saved
Their son with honor, glorious in their death.
They had no child but thee, they had no hope
Of other offspring, shouldst thou die; and I
Might thus have lived, thou might'st have lived till age
Crept slowly on, nor wouldst thou heave the sigh
Thus of thy wife deprived, nor train alone
Thy orphan children: but some god appointed
It should be thus: thus be it: thou to me
Requite this kindness; never shall I ask
An equal retribution, nothing bears
A value high as life: yet my request
Is just, thou wilt confess it; for thy love
To these our children equals mine, thy soul
If wisdom tempers: in their mother's house
Let them be lords: wed not again, to set
A stepdame o'er my children, some base woman
That wants my virtues; she through jealousy
Will work against their lives, because to thee
I bore them: do not this, I beg thee do not;
For to the offspring of a former bed
A stepdame comes sharp as a serpent's tooth.
My son, that holds endearing converse with thee,
Hath in his father a secure protection.
But who, my daughter, shall with honor guide
Thy virgin years? What woman shalt thou find
New-wedded to thy father, whose vile arts
Will not with slanderous falsehoods taint thy name,
And blast thy nuptials in youth's freshest bloom?
For never shall thy mother see thee led
A bride, nor at thy throes speak comfort to thee,
Then present when a mother's tenderness
Is most alive: for I must die; the ill
Waits not a day, but quickly shall I be
Numbered amongst the dead. Farewell, be happy.
And thou, my husband, mayst with honor boast
Thou hast been wedded to a virtuous wife;
And you, my children, glory in your mother."

strips off the disguise with which the accidents of mortality, its imperfections, weaknesses, follies, miseries, and crimes hide their essential nature from our view, and presents them before us with all the interests and capacities of immortal beings. They who are dear to us, are worthy of all love and self-devotion, worthy of affections unlimited by death or time. They are members with us of the imperishable family of God, in whose company we are to exist for ever, and with whom our union will become more entire, as we grow purer and more disinterested.

Thus in later days there has been a growth of sentiments and affections, almost unknown before. Our better feelings toward our fellow-men have acquired far more strength, and assumed new forms. In other times, man has been comparatively an insulated being. Domestic life, that life in which now almost all our joys or sorrows are centred, was scarcely known to the ancients; and has had but a sickly and artificial existence even in modern ages, through the operation of false notions of domestic government and discipline, and of the mutual relations of husband and wife, parents and children. Religion, by teaching us justly to estimate what is truly excellent in our nature, what is intellectual, moral, and ever-enduring, has given to woman the rank to which she is entitled. It has made her the friend of man; and our feelings are in harmony with the poet when he speaks of

> "A perfect woman, nobly planned
> To warn, to comfort and command;
> And yet a spirit still, and bright
> With something of an angel light."

But man has never regarded woman with respect and true love, except so far as he has regarded her as a spiritual and immortal being. Without this, no conception can exist of that inseparable union which blends all the interests and affections of one being with those of another. The poetry of the ancients that expresses any sentiments toward the female sex is, with rare exceptions, of the grossest kind, sensual, coarse, indecent, brutal. We can pick out only a few passages from the mass, which shadow forth any thing like real affection.*

* About the middle of the last century, the following lines, by Dr. Jortin, were published anonymously, as part of an ancient inscription

The same character has continued to cleave to much of our modern poetry, rendering it at once pernicious and disgusting. But wherever the power of true religion has been felt, there woman, more disinterested, more pure, and more moral than man, has exerted a constant influence to raise the character of society. Where it has not been felt, woman has been treated as a mere creature of this earth, an object only of sensual passion, courted, wronged, and insulted; her character has sunk, and the infection of the evil has spread itself everywhere. It would be difficult, in as few words, to suggest to a reflecting mind, a more melancholy picture of the state of society at Athens, than that of which Aristotle affords us a glimpse in a short passage of his "Art of Poetry," where he remarks with his usual brevity and dryness, that "the manners (character) of a woman or slave may be good; though in general, perhaps, women are rather bad than good, and slaves, alto-

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on a tomb; nor was the innocent deception at once detected.

"Quæ te sub tenerâ rapuerunt, Pæta, juventâ,
O! utinam me crudelia fata vocent;
Ut linquam terras invisaque lumina solis,
Utque tuus rursum corpore sim posito.
Tu cave Lethæo contingas ora liquore,
Et cito venturi sis memor, oro, viri.
Te sequar: obscurum per iter dux ibit eunti
Fidus Amor, tenebras lampade discutiens."

They may be thus translated:

My Pæta, ravished from me in thy bloom,
O! would that I might share thy cruel doom;
Might leave this earth, this hated light resign,
Sink to the grave, and thus again be thine.
Drink not below of Lethe's stream; beware!
Forget not him who soon will join thee there;
Will follow soon; though dark may be the way,
Love's torch shall guide me with its steady ray.

The original, though it ends with something of a conceit, is pleasing; principally, however, because the happy imitation of the language of antiquity carries us back to a time, when to find such affections expressed, would afford a peculiar and unexpected gratification. Similar sentiments in an English poem of our times, in equally beautiful language, would hardly excite attention. Yet the feelings and thoughts in these verses are such, that, though one might not be able to say on this ground merely, that they were not ancient, we think he might say with confidence, that they were not written by any ancient Latin poet, whose works have come down to us.

gether bad."* Where women are thus estimated, the domestic charities, our best school of virtue, cannot exist; those affections which are at once the gentlest and the strongest have no place; nor will there be any true refinement, nor quick and generous feeling in the intercourse between man and man. The first and strongest link in the chain of human sympathy is wanting.

When Jesus Christ pronounced these words, "*What God has joined together, let not man put asunder,*" he laid down the fundamental law of human civilization. But it would have been impossible to render marriage the most solemn and indissoluble of connexions, if his religion had not at the same time restored to woman the character designed for her by nature, and raised her to that place she now holds, wherever the truths he taught have had somewhat of their proper influence.

When the feelings that give sanctity to marriage are wanting, the parental affections operate but feebly. The new-born child, instead of being regarded as a gift and a trust from God, a new creature with whom we have become for ever connected, and a living bond of common interest to strengthen the union of its parents, is either looked at, on the one hand, as a present incumbrance, or on the other, as a probable future support. The whole history of the domestic relations of the ancients establishes this truth. What must have been the state of parental affection among those who practised and tolerated the destruction of infants as a common custom? The absence of such affection is not to be estimated by the number of victims to that custom, but by the fact of its being generally viewed without horror or reprobation. It was a shocking trait of barbarity in the character of the elder Cato, that he recommended that worn-out and disabled slaves should be exposed to perish; but an exposure more inhuman, which showed that man had lost even the feelings of the lower animals, was constantly

* "What Aristotle says," observes his able translator, Mr. Twining, "is, I fear, but too conformable to the manner in which the ancients usually speak of the sex *in general.* At least he is certainly consistent with himself: witness the following very curious character of women in his "*History of Animals,*" which I give the reader by no means for his assent, but for his wonder or his diversion." Mr. Twining's remarks sufficiently imply of what nature this character is, and we forbear to quote it.

going on, and was enjoined, under certain circumstances, both by Plato and Aristotle, as a law of their imagined republics. There is a famous saying in one of the comedies of Terence, which has been often quoted as a fine expression of philanthropy; *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.** It is put into the mouth of a man whose wife is afterwards represented as in fear before him, because she had not destroyed her female infant as he had commanded, but given it a chance for preservation by causing it to be exposed alive. Maternal love cannot be wholly extinguished; but it is the glow of modern feeling only which pours its beauty over the following lines, to which nothing parallel can be found in the poets of Greece or Rome, though Mrs. Hemans apostrophizes the Elysium of their imagining.

" Calm, on its leaf-strewn bier,
Unlike a gift of nature to decay,
Too rose-like still, too beautiful, too dear,
The child at rest before the mother lay,
E'en so to pass away,
With its bright smile! Elysium what wert *thou*
To her, who wept o'er that young slumberer's brow?

Thou hadst no home, green land!
For the fair creature from her bosom gone,
With life's fresh flowers just opening in its hand,
And all the lovely thoughts and dreams unknown,
Which, in its clear eye, shone
Like spring's first wakening! but that light was past; —
Where went the dew-drop swept before the blast?"

The ancient popular faith was indeed destitute of consolation; but in the absence of those associations which shed a holy light round an infant, such consolation is less needed. Even the fountain of maternal affection flows with but a scanty and interrupted stream.

Thus religion, by making man of more worth to man, and by strengthening our assurance in each other's sympathy and virtue, has called forth affections which lay folded up in our nature, or had put forth only a stinted growth. The finer productions of modern poetry are colored throughout with expressions of their beauty and strength. Moral qualities, good or bad, as they exist in men, unformed directly or indirectly by

* I am a man; whatever concerns other men, I think my concern.

religion, owe their strength principally to impulse and passion, or depend, like the inconsistent hospitality of the Arab, or the pride of the Roman, on what he thought the glory of his country, upon prejudices, which spring partly from generous feeling and partly from selfish regards, and are made strong and binding upon the individual by universal consent. It is only when quickened by religious sentiment, that the human character displays all its complicated variety of feelings. Then affections, which had before seemed almost powerless, become essential elements of our being. Associations, till then unknown, link together their invisible chains; and the feeling with which they thrill us when touched, presents a new phenomenon in our nature. The love of our youthful home may seem to us a universal sentiment, likely to appear in the poetry of all times; yet how little reference to it do we find in any poetry before our own age, and especially how little reference, like the following, to its moral power.

" 'Hast thou come with the heart of thy childhood back?
The free, the pure, the kind?'
—So murmured the trees in my homeward track,
As they played to the mountain-wind.

" 'Hath thy soul been true to its early love?'
Whispered my native streams;
'Hath the spirit, nursed amidst hill and grove,
Still revered its first high dreams?'

" 'Hast thou borne in thy bosom the holy prayer
Of the child in his parent-halls?'
—Thus breathed a voice on the thrilling air,
From the old ancestral walls.

" 'Hast thou kept thy faith with the faithful dead,
Whose place of rest is nigh?
With the father's blessing o'er thee shed,
With the mother's trusting eye?'

" — Then my tears gushed forth in sudden rain,
As I answered—'O, ye shades!
I bring not my childhood's heart again
To the freedom of your glades.

" 'I have turned from my first pure love aside
O bright and happy streams!
Light after light, in my soul have died
The day-spring's glorious dreams.

" 'And the holy prayer from my thoughts hath passed —
The prayer at my mother's knee;
Darkened and troubled I come at last,
Home of my boyish glee!

" 'But I bear from my childhood a gift of tears,
To soften and atone;
And oh! ye scenes of those blessed years,
They shall make me again your own.' "

It is under the continued influence of Christianity, however imperfect that influence may have been, that the human character, which had before manifested itself partially and irregularly in the rudeness and inconsistency of its elementary passions, has begun to struggle toward its full developement. It has become alive to feelings, and is putting forth powers, which belong to its immortal nature. We may perceive this unfolding of man in the very structure of language, which, enlarged as it has been with new terms, yet presents so imperfect a means for expressing the different qualities and shades of character, and the modes and combinations of feeling. The study of human nature has thus become a sciencé of far more interest and complexity. Many forms of character now appear, that belong to no period in the progress of the human race, preceding that to which we have arrived. To the eye of the poet, man presents himself in new aspects of strength and weakness, in multiform relations to the finite and the infinite, and with all the variety of sentiments resulting from the change in his prospects and hopes. He is now "a traveller between life and death"; his highest interests connect him with the boundless, the unearthly, and the mysterious; with all that has most power to affect the imagination, and excite the strongest and deepest feelings. It is only through his relations to God and eternity, that man becomes an exhaustless subject of high poetry. When thus viewed, his ruined home may be repeopled with thoughts and images such as these:

" Thou hast heard many sounds, thou hearth,
Deserted now by all!
Voices at eve here met in mirth,
Which eve may ne'er recall.
Youth's buoyant step, and woman's tone,
And childhood's laughing glee,
And song and prayer have all been known,
Hearth of the dead! to thee.

" Thou hast heard blessings fondly poured
Upon the infant head,
As if in every fervent word
The living soul were shed :
Thou hast seen partings, — such as bear
The bloom from life away, —
Alas ! for love in changeful air,
Where nought beloved can stay !

" Here, by the restless bed of pain,
The vigil hath been kept,
Till sunrise, bright with hope in vain,
Burst forth on eyes that wept :
Here hath been felt the hush, the gloom,
The breathless influence shed
Through the dim dwelling, from the room
Wherein reposed the dead.

" The seat left void, the missing face,
Have here been marked and mourned ;
And time hath filled the vacant place,
And gladness hath returned :
Till from the narrowing household chain
The links dropped, one by one ;
And homewards hither, o'er the main,
Came the spring-birds alone.

" Is there not cause, then — cause for thought,
Fixed eye, and lingering tread,
Where, with their thousand mysteries fraught,
E'en lowliest hearts have bled ?
Where, in its ever-haunting thirst
For draughts of purer day,
Man's soul with fitful strength hath burst
The clouds that wrapt its way ? "

The recognition of the higher relations of man has given a characteristic to modern poetry, particularly English poetry, through which it has peculiar power over the heart. Expressions and descriptions of human suffering, instead of depressing us with melancholy, become sublime or touching, when that suffering is brought into direct or indirect contrast with man's nature and hopes as an immortal being, or is represented as calling into exercise those virtues which can exist in such a being alone. There is no pathos in the mere lamentations of an individual over his own particular lot, or over the condition of a race to which he feels it an unhappiness to belong.

There is nothing that excites any tender or elevating feeling in such verses as the following from an ancient poet.

" Is there a man just, honest, nobly born ?
Malice shall hunt him down. Does wealth attend him ?
Trouble is hard behind. Conscience direct ?
Beggary is at his heels. * * * * *
* * * * * Account that day
Which brings no new mischance, a day of rest.
For what is man ? What matter is he made of ?
How born ? What is he and what shall he be ?
What an unnatural parent is this world,
To foster none but villains, and destroy
All who are benefactors to mankind ! " *

The sufferings to which we are here exposed cease to be a subject that leads to any grateful or ennobling state of mind, when man regards the pleasures of this life as his only good. Among the ancient poets, the contemplation of its evils, when viewed at a distance, is associated with sentiments simply disheartening, or altogether superficial and trifling. Let us take for example a famous ode of Horace. It begins :

" Eheu ! fugaces, Postume, Postume,
Labuntur anni ; nec pietas moram
Rugis et instanti senectæ
Afferet, indomitæque morti. " †

It ends ;

" Absumet hæres Cæcuba dignior,
Servata centum clavibus ; et mero
Tinget pavimentum superbo
Pontificum potiore cœnis." ‡

* The original is ascribed to Sotades. See Cumberland's " Observer," No. 147. Cumberland says ; " There is a melancholy grandeur in these sentiments with a simplicity of expression, which prove to us that these authors (the Greek comic writers) occasionally diverged from the gay spirit of comedy into passages not only of the most serious, but sublimest cast." Cumberland is one of those critics who have regarded themselves as privileged in writing any sort of laudatory nonsense about the ancient poets.

† Alas ! my friend, the rapid years
Are gliding on ; no prayers delay
Approaching wrinkles, age, and tears,
Or wrest from death's all-conquering sway.

‡ With wine your hundred locks secure,
Some worthier heir your floors will stain,
Lavish of draughts more rich and pure,
Than our high-priests are wont to drain.

No modern poet would, or rather could, construct verses after this fashion.

It is in representations of the triumph of our immortal nature over the ills of mortality, of the patience with which they are borne, of the power by which they are overcome, in one word, of the moral qualities which suffering alone brings into action, and in those touches that awaken our best and tenderest affections for the sufferings of others, especially the innocent and helpless, that the sources of the highest pathos are to be found. All that is morally sublime springs upward from our severer trials; and then, only when man feels the nobleness of his nature. Present the calamity nakedly to our view, and its contemplation is merely distressing; picture it in connexion with some effort of virtue, and a glory is spread over the whole. In the fall of D'Assas by Mrs. Hemans, (not one of the most remarkable of her productions,) a young officer, full of the thoughts of his home and the scenes of his earlier years, is represented as surprised and massacred by his enemies. The simple narrative of such a death naturally excites painful emotion, but this emotion is so wholly overborne, as but to give additional strength to the exaltation of feeling produced by the concluding verses:

" 'Silence!' in under-tones they cry —
'No whisper — not a breath!
The sound that warns thy comrades nigh
Shall sentence thee to death!'

" — Still, at the bayonet's point he stood,
And strong to meet the blow;
And shouted, 'midst his rushing blood,
'Arm, arm, Auvergne! the foe!'

" The stir, the tramp, the bugle-call, —
He heard their tumults grow;
And sent his dying voice through all, —
'Auvergne, Auvergne! the foe!'"

We may compare the poem just quoted, with a passage from Virgil, which refers to circumstances somewhat similar, and has been praised as very pathetic, in the episode of Nisus and Euryalus, where Nisus perceives that Euryalus has fallen into the hands of his foes, and is just about to be slain.

" Tum vero, exterritus, amens,
Conclamat Nisus; nec se celare tenebris

Amplius, aut tantum potuit perferre dolorem :
' Me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum,
O Rutuli ! mea fraus omnis; nihil iste nec ausus,
Nec potuit: cœlum hoc et conscia sidera testor.
Tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum.'
Talia dicta dabat; sed viribus ensis adactus
Transabiit costas." *

However conspicuous such a passage may be in an ancient poet, it would not, we believe, be regarded with great admiration in a modern.

In one of Miss Edgeworth's little stories for children, which are far better worth reading than most books for grown people, she says of the cottage of some poor woman, that *it was as clean as misery could make it.* There is a pathos in these few words, not unusual in her writings, but such as we can find in but a scanty number of writers before our own age. It has not been well understood, that the indirect expressions of suffering are far more powerful than the direct, and that we are much more affected by suppressed, than by unrestrained emotion. In but little of the poetry of past times is there any trace of quickness or delicacy of perception in regard to the modes or expressions of human feeling and passion ; for man himself had not become sufficiently refined for the exercise of such observation. Plato objects to Homer and the tragic poets of Greece, that they degraded men's minds by representing their heroes, when suffering, as pouring forth long lamentations, singing their sorrows and beating their breasts. † So far as they did so, there was nothing pathetic in their writings. Who indeed, in modern times, was ever able to imagine himself affected by the sorrows of Achilles for the death of Patroclus, or those of his mother, Thetis, in consequence ?

* Then frightened, maddened, reckless in his woe,
Nisus starts forth, exclaiming to the foe ;
" Me ! me ! I did it; turn your swords on me ;
Here the sole author of your loss you see ;
He nothing did, nor could do ; strike my breast ;
Ye heavens, and conscious stars, my truth attest ;
He has but loved too much his wretched friend."
While thus he spoke, he saw the blow descend.

† De Republicâ, Lib. x. p. 605. In the following passage, likewise, Plato speaks to the same purpose. " With reason, therefore, we may condemn the lamentations of celebrated men, and beg of Homer, and

" Then clouds of sorrow fell on Peleus' son,
And, grasping with both hands the ashes, down
He poured them on his head, his graceful brows
Dishonoring, and thick the sooty shower
Descending settled on his fragrant vest.
Then, stretched in ashes, at the vast extent
Of his whole length he lay, disordering wild
With his own hands, and rending off his hair.
The maidens, captived by himself in war
And by Patroclus, shrieking from the tent
Ran forth, and hemmed the glorious chief around.
All smote their bosoms, and all, fainting, fell.
On the other side, Antilochus, dissolved
In tears, held fast Achilles' hands, and groaned
Continually from his heart, through fear
Lest Peleus' son should perish self-destroyed.
With dreadful cries *he* rent the air; whose voice
Within the gulfs of ocean, where she sat
Beside her ancient sire, his mother heard,
And hearing, shrieked; around her, at the voice
Assembled all the Nereids of the deep."

We omit the names of the Nereids, which fill ten lines of the original:

" Each smote her breast,
And Thetis, loud lamenting, thus began."

But it is not to the moral world alone that religion has given a new character. It has spread life over the inanimate creation, giving it power to call up countless associations; so that the old tree under which we sat in childhood becomes to us as a friend, and the flowers speak to us of human sympathies and of God's love. Mere forms and colors have in themselves but little power over us. Their chief beauty is in the senti-

the other poets, not to represent Achilles, the son of a goddess, as tossing himself about, lying now on his side, now on his back, and now on his face, then starting up and wandering, overcome by grief, along the seashore, nor as scattering ashes with both hands upon his hair, nor as weeping and bemoaning as he is elsewhere described." "If our youths," he says, "should listen to these things seriously, and not laugh at them as unworthily said, it can hardly be, that, when men, they will think such conduct unworthy of themselves, or exercise any restraint when urged by passion to the like words and actions, or be ashamed of indulging in lamentations and outcries, even under trifling afflictions." — De Republicâ, Lib. III. pp. 387, 388.

ments that gather round them at our approach, and have their birth-place within us; it is created by our own hearts, the flowing forth of our own moral feelings. When these feelings exist but in a low or torpid state, the material world becomes proportionally barren of loveliness. There are in ancient writers few descriptions of natural scenery capable of affording a vivid pleasure to the imagination, even of a modern reader, though in him the words may awaken associations unknown to the author. In the Georgics the prosaic nature of the subject is broken by frequent digressions, and we might expect to find some agreeable delineations of the charms of nature; but there is nothing affording proof

"That the soul which gives sense to her beauty was won."

Virgil's description of the preëminence of Italy over other countries is elaborate, and one might fancy beforehand, that it would be written with all the enthusiasm of a patriot as well as poet.

"Sed neque Medorum, silvæ ditissima, terra,
Nec pulcher Ganges, atque auro turbidus Hermus,
Laudibus Italiæ certent; non Bactra, neque Indi,
Totaque thuriferis Panchaïa pinguis arenis.
Hæc loca non tauri spirantes naribus ignem
Invertêre, satis immanis dentibus hydri;
Nec galeis densisque virûm seges horruit hastis:
Sed gravidæ fruges et Bacchi Massicus humor
Implevêre; tenent oleæ armentaque læta.
Hinc bellator equus campo sese arduus infert;
Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima taurus
Victima, sæpe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
Romanos ad templa Deûm duxêre triumphos.
Hîc ver assiduum, atque alienis mensibus æstas;
Bis gravidæ pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbor.
At rabidæ tigres absunt, et sæva leonum
Semina; nec miseros fallunt aconita legentes;
Nec rapit immensos orbes per humum, neque tanto
Squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis.
Adde tot egregias urbes, operumque laborem,
Tot congesta manu præruptis oppida saxis,
Fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.
An mare, quod supra, memorem, quodque alluit infra?
Anne lacus tantos? te, Lari maxime, teque,
Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, marino?

An memorem portus, Lucrinoque addita claustra,
Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor,
Julia quâ ponto longe sonat unda refuso,
Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur æstus Avernis ?
Hæc eadem argenti rivos ærisque metalla
Ostendit venis, atque auro plurima fluxit.
Hæc genus acre virûm, Marsos, pubemque Sabellam,
Assuetumque malo Ligurem, Volscosque verutos,
Extulit; hæc Decios, Marios, magnosque Camillos,
Scipiadas duros bello, et te, maxime Cæsar,
Qui, nunc extremis Asiæ jam victor in oris,
Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum.
Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
Magna virûm! tibi res antiquæ laudis et artis
Ingredior, sanctos ausus recludere fontes ;
Ascræumque cano Romana per oppida carmen." *

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* We give Mr. Sotheby's version. Almost all that presents even the commonplaces of poetry, is due to the translator.

"Yet nor the Median groves, nor rivers rolled,
Ganges, and Hermus, o'er their beds of gold,
Nor Ind, nor Bactra, nor the blissful land
Where incense spreads o'er rich Panchaia's sand,
Nor all that fancy paints in fabled lays,
Oh native Italy! transcend thy praise.
Though here no bulls beneath th' enchanted yoke
With fiery nostril o'er the furrow smoke,
No hydra teeth embattled harvest yield,
Spear and bright helmet bristling o'er the field ;
Yet golden corn each laughing valley fills,
The vintage reddens on a thousand hills,
Luxuriant olives spread from shore to shore,
And flocks unnumbered range the pastures o'er.
Hence the proud war-horse rushes on the foe ;
Clitumnus! hence thy herds, more white than snow,
And stately bull, that, of gigantic size,
Supreme of victims on the altar lies,
Bathed in thy sacred stream oft led the train,
When Rome in pomp of triumph decked the fane.
Here Spring perpetual leads the laughing Hours,
And Winter wears a wreath of summer flowers :
Th' o'erloaded branch twice fills with fruits the year,
And twice the teeming flocks their offspring rear.
Yet here no lion breeds, no tiger strays,
No tempting aconite the touch betrays,
No monstrous snake th' uncoiling volume trails,
Or gathers orb on orb his iron scales.

There is here great poverty of imagination and expression. The passage is essentially more statistical and geographical than poetical. It is almost destitute of any expression of sentiment. Compare it with the apostrophe to Caledonia,

> "stern and wild,
> Meet nurse of a poetic child."

From the want of sentiment and of moral associations, the descriptive language of the ancient poets is, in general, scanty and poor. It is for the most part drawn immediately from the perceptions of the senses, and has little to do with the invisible feelings and images, of which outward things become the symbols to a reflecting mind. It rarely gives them a moral being; its epithets are seldom imaginative; it paints to the eye; it calls up recollections of bodily rest and pleasure;* but it does not often address the heart.

But many a peopled city towers around,
And many a rocky cliff with castle crowned,
And many an antique wall, whose hoary brow
O'ershades the flood that guards its base below.
Say, shall I add, enclosed on either side,
What seas defend thee, and what lakes divide?
Thine, mighty Larius? or, with surging waves,
Where, fierce as ocean, vext Benacus raves?
Havens and ports, the Lucrine's added mole,
Seas that enraged along their bulwark roll,
Where Julian waves reject th' indignant tide,
And Tuscan billows down Avernus glide?
Here brass and silver ores rich veins expose,
And pregnant mines exhaustless gold enclose.
Blest in thy race, in battle unsubdued
The Marsian youth, and Sabine's hardy brood,
By strenuous toil the bold Ligurians steeled,
And spear-armed Volsci that disdain to yield:
Camilli, Marii, Decii swell thy line,
And, thunderbolts of war, each Scipio, thine!
Thou Cæsar! chief, whose sword the East o'erpow'rs,
And the tamed Indian drives from Roman towers.
All hail, Saturnian earth! hail, loved of fame,
Land, rich in fruits, and men of mighty name!
For thee I dare the sacred founts explore,
For thee, the rules of ancient art restore,
Themes, once to glory raised, again rehearse,
And pour through Roman towns th' Ascræan verse."

* See Twining's "Dissertation on Poetic Imitation," prefixed to his "Translation of Aristotle's Art of Poetry."

Horace begins one of his odes thus :

" Vides, ut altâ stet nive candidum
Soracte : nec jam sustineant onus
Sylvæ laborantes, geluque
Flumina constiterint acuto ?" *

The epithets *white* mountain, *deep* snow, *sharp* frost, are all taken without addition immediately from the perceptions of the senses ; nor, considering the common prosaic use of *laboro*, in a similar sense, is the epithet *laboring* much more poetical ; yet the passage is as striking of its kind as most that may be found in Latin poetry. The lines are thus rendered by Dryden.

" Behold yon mountain's hoary height
Made higher with new mounts of snow ;
Again behold the winter's weight
Oppress the laboring woods below ;
And streams with icy fetters bound,
Benumbed and cramped to solid ground."

Dryden was not eminent for his love of nature or power of describing its beauties ; and a poet of livelier preceptions would hardly have changed the name of Soracte for the faint generalization, " yon mountain " ; yet something of the difference which we wish to point out between ancient and modern poetry, is here perceptible. Let us take from Mrs. Hemans, an example of the richly imaginative character of that of later times. We will give the beginning of the verses in which she describes herself as reading in an arbor, " The Talisman " of Scott. A particular interest attaches to them from the circumstance, that in the best portrait of her she is represented in this real or imaginary situation.

" There were thick leaves above me and around,
And low sweet sighs, like those of childhood's sleep,
Amidst their dimness, and a fitful sound
As of soft showers on water ; dark and deep
Lay the oak shadows o'er the turf, so still
They seemed but pictured glooms : a hidden rill
Made music, such as haunts us in a dream,
Under the fern tufts ; and a tender gleam
Of soft green light, as by the glowworm shed,

* See how Soracte stands white with deep snow ; the laboring woods cannot bear up under their load, and the streams are stopped by the sharp frost.

Came pouring through the woven beach boughs down,
And steep'd the magic page wherein I read
Of royal chivalry and old renown,
A tale of Palestine.* — Meanwhile the bee
Swept past me with a tone of summer hours,
A drowsy bugle, wafting thoughts of flowers,
Blue skies, and amber sunshine: brightly free,
On filmy wings, the purple dragon-fly
Shot glancing like a fairy javelin by;
And a sweet voice of sorrow told the dell
Where sat the lone wood-pigeon."

Every subject becomes rich in proportion to the wealth of the mind by which it is contemplated. The intellectual light that shines upon it, gives it its colors. Deficient as the ancient poets were in so many sources of thought and feeling that exist in modern times, they discover as imperfect a sensibility to most of the other pleasures of a refined taste as to those derived from the objects of nature. There is to be found, for instance, in their works scarcely a single passage, perhaps not one, in which the power of music, as blending in intimate union sensible and intellectual pleasures, is described with strong expression; yet what a treasury of glowing images and solemn thoughts this subject has opened to modern poets. We need not quote for illustration Mrs. Hemans's "Triumphant Music."

Through our strong sympathy with our fellow-men, we are deeply interested in the remains of antiquity, in the ruins that recall it to our thoughts, and in the histories which have come down to us, or rather in those histories as fashioned anew by our imagination, effacing and softening, filling up the rude outline, and coloring and embellishing at pleasure. In proportion as we have a more vivid conception of the virtues and excellences of which man is capable, so man, as such, becomes more an object of our regard. In looking back through the obscurity of time, the depravity that would have shocked us, if forced upon our observation, is partially lost in the darkness, and the bright traits of character shine out more distinctly. The dead of past ages are regarded with something of the same tenderness that we feel toward the dead whom we have known. At least we consent for a time to sacrifice our philosophy to an illusion, and instead of the Richard Cœur-de-Lion

"* Palestine. — Tales of the Crusaders."

of history, whose only marked characteristics were bodily strength and brutal hardihood, with those few gleams of goodness which nothing but the grossest sensuality can utterly extinguish, we consent for a time to take the Richard of Scott's "Ivanhoe"; or in fancying the Augustan age, are willing to forget that it took its name from

> "him who murdered Tully,
> That cold villain, Octavius."

Conformably to the laws of our better nature, our imagination is most readily attracted by what is most excellent in man. While viewing a beautiful tract of country with which we are not familiar, we can hardly refrain from idealizing its supposed inhabitants, and giving them somewhat of a poetical character, or, in other words, a character agreeable to our best feelings. So it is in casting our view over past ages. Our sympathies are excited for the hopes and fears, and the virtues, such as they were, of those who have lost all power to injure; and we may even fashion dim images of what they now are, as existing somewhere in the creation of God, divested perhaps of the evil that clung to them on earth. The idea of that moral purification and developement, which, we believe, is continually going on in the universe, may thus mingle with the contemplation of the past. It is in transferring us into a world in which grateful imaginations are blended with truth, and the harshness of present reality is shut out, that the poetic interest of antiquity principally consists.

Of this, modern poetry and fiction have abundantly availed themselves. But though a shadowy antiquity lay as a background to Greek and Roman civilization, yet it was rarely resorted to by the ancient poets as a source of pleasing or solemn emotions. To them the remoter ages were little more than a desert abounding with monstrous fictions, with licentious and savage divinities, half-brutal demigods, and heroes and chiefs hardly human, whose fabulous deeds and sufferings present nothing to recommend them to our sense of beauty. In the period following, history assumed at least an air of truth, and men appeared on the stage with human feelings, passions, and virtues. But in looking back upon their earlier history, the ancients seem to have felt but slightly those peculiar sentiments and trains of feeling, which the contemplation of antiquity now awakens in our breasts. In no ancient poet is there a

celebration of a hero of his country to be compared with Mrs. Hemans's lines on the Scottish patriot, Wallace, beginning

> "Rest with the brave, whose names belong
> To the high sanctity of song."

There is no appeal to the deeds of their fathers equal to her Spanish war-song, —

> "Fling forth the proud banner of Leon again ;
> Let the high word '*Castile*' go resounding through Spain" —

No poetic conception of antiquity is to be found resembling the introduction of her "Cathedral Hymn," —

> "A dim and mighty minster of old time,
> A temple, shadowy with remembrances
> Of the majestic past!" —

And above all, there is nothing so morally ennobling, so adapted to raise the character of a people, as the verses, by which she has conferred a great obligation on our country, her "Pilgrim Fathers."

But, beside the advantages afforded to a modern poet by the religious and moral improvement of our race, which it has been principally our object to point out, there are others at which we may glance. He may look back over many ages, and around upon all countries, and acquaint himself with man, as he has existed and exists under circumstances the most dissimilar. He may possess himself of all that knowledge of human nature, which has been gathered from long experience and wide observation and multiplied opportunities of comparison. He may, like Southey, construct poems, as wild and wondrous, and as morally beautiful as "Thalaba," or as rich with barbaric splendor as "The Curse of Kehama," from the rude materials of Arabian fiction or Hindoo mythology. The treasures of learning and science, so poor in ancient times, have through succeeding ages, been accumulating to furnish him with thoughts, illustrations, and images. Our conceptions are enlarged, our views raised, the physical as well as the moral universe has been continually opening to the view of man, and knowledge unfolding her ever-lengthening scroll, of which the ancients had scarcely read the first lines. It was a dream, ridiculed by Plato,* of the extravagant admirers of Homer,

* De Republicâ, Lib. x. p. 598, *seq.*

that all human and divine learning was to be found in his writings.

In the nature of things art is progressive; its theory and practice are gradually better understood, errors are discovered and corrected, new objects of attainment proposed, and visions of higher excellence revealed to the mind; and thus we may believe, that the character, principles, purposes, and means of poetry are now comprehended more justly than they were in former times.

But it may be said that in perfection of language, at least, the poets of Greece and Rome must remain unsurpassed. It may be doubted, however, whether we are qualified to pronounce this judgment in their favor. The harmonious flow of articulate sounds in the Greek and Latin languages, particularly in the Latin, is not to be readily attained in some of the principal languages of literary Europe. But if we speak of poetical beauty of expression and harmony of thought, we must recollect, that it is necessary to be acquainted with the train of shadowy associations which follow the direct meaning of a poetical word, before we can determine that word to be well chosen. But such acquaintance implies an intimate knowlege of the use of language and of the state of mind in those addressed, which, as regards the poetry of the ancients, it is very difficult to acquire, and, in many particulars, impossible, yet without which we are liable to fall into great mistakes, and may often be left in much uncertainty. Take, for example, the line, —

"Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum." *

It has been admired from the consonance of the sound with the sense. We understand the epithet *putris* to mean *dusty*, — the dusty plain; but this epithet is elsewhere applied to a rich, mellow soil, easily broken up, or to a sandy plain. According to either of these uses, it is apparently an epithet unsuitable from its associations to be given to a field described as shaken and resounding with the trampling of a body

* "Repeated peals of shouts are heard around:
The neighing coursers answer to the sound,
And shake with horny hoofs the solid ground."
Dryden.
"Loud shouts arise; the thundering coursers bound
Through clouds of dust, and paw the trembling ground."
Pitt.

of horse. As respects, likewise, the epithet *quadrupedans*, we may doubt whether any modern critic can explain why *quadrupedante sonitu* is more poetical in Virgil, than its equivalent "the sound of quadrupeds" would be in a modern poet if used to express the sound of horses.

Let us take another example:

> "Pastor cum *traheret* per freta navibus
> Idæis Helenam perfidus hospitam." *

Why is the word *traheret* used, which as employed elsewhere would imply the taking away of Helen against her will? Does it refer to one version of the story according to which Paris did bear her away by force? Were this the case, one would naturally expect, considering the reproachful and denunciatory character of the ode, to find that idea brought out more distinctly. Is it intended to express the reluctance with which, though yielding to her love for Paris, she left her husband and her home? This conception is too refined for an ancient poet to trust to its being made apparent by so light a touch; if indeed we may suppose it to have entered his mind. Was *traheret*, then, intended, by its associations with an act of violence, to denote the rapidity and fear of the flight of Paris? Or was it merely employed *abusively*, to use a technical term, only with reference to a part of its signification, as words are not unfrequently used in poetry; though it is always an imperfection?

Such cases are very numerous, in which no modern reader can pronounce with just confidence upon the character of the poetical language of the ancients. Instances are frequently occurring in which, if we admire at all, we must admire at second hand, upon trust. The meaning and effect of words have undergone changes which it is often not easy, and often not possible, to ascertain with precision. Even in our own language this is the case. Shakspeare says, —

> "Nor Heaven peep through the blanket of the dark
> To cry, Hold! Hold!"

Here, Johnson understands him as presenting the ludicrous conception of "the ministers of vengeance, peeping through a blanket," and Coleridge, as we see by his "Table-Talk," conjectured that instead of "blanket" "blank height" was perhaps written

* When the perfidious shepherd *was bearing away*, in Idæan ships, through narrow seas, Helen, the wife of his host ——.

by Shakspeare. But by "Heaven" we conceive to be meant, not the ministers of vengeance, but the lights of heaven; and it is not unpoetical to speak of the moon and stars as peeping through clouds. With the word "blanket," our associations are trivial and low; but understand it merely as denoting a thick covering of darkness which closely enwraps the lights of heaven, and it suits well to its place. But our associations with the word are accidental, there is nothing intrinsically more mean in a blanket than a sheet, yet none would object to the expression of "a sheet of light." The fortunes of the words, only, have been different, and that, in all probability, since the time of Shakspeare, considering his use of this word, and the corresponding use of the word *rug* by Drayton.*

If such be the character of poetical language, it is clear, that to judge with critical accuracy of that of a distant age or even a foreign land, requires uncommon knowledge and discrimination as well as an accurate taste; while, unfortunately, profound scholarship and cultivated and elegant habits of mind have very rarely been united in the study of the ancient poets. The supposition of a peculiar felicity of expression in their writings is to be judged of, in most cases, rather by extrinsic probabilities, which do not favor it, than by any direct and clear evidence of it that can be produced. We are very liable in this particular to be biassed by prepossession and authority; our imaginations often deceive us; we create the beauty which we fancy that we find.

There is perhaps no poet, in whose productions the characteristics of which we have spoken as giving a superiority to the poetry of later times over that which has preceded, appear more strikingly than in those of Mrs. Hemans. When, after reading such works as she has written, we turn over the volumes of a collection of English poetry, like that of Chalmers, we cannot but perceive that the greater part of it appears more worthless and distasteful than before. Much is evidently the work of barren and unformed, vulgar and vicious minds, of individuals without any conception of poetry as the glowing expression of what is most noble in our nature, and often with no title to the name of poet, but from having put into metre thoughts too mean for prose. Such writings as those of Mrs. Hemans at once afford evidence of the advance of our

* See examples in the notes to Shakspeare.

race, and are among the most important means of its further purification and progress. The minds, which go forth from their privacy to act with strong moral power upon thousands and ten thousands of other minds, are the real agents in advancing the character of man, and improving his condition. They are instruments of the invisible operations of the spirit of God.* A. N.

ART. VI. — *A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land; comprising Recollections, Sketches, and Reflections, made during a Tour in the East, in the Year* 1832–1833. By ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE, Member of the French Academy. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 1835. 12mo. pp. 312 and 332.

THE land which is spoken of by the prophet Ezekiel, as "the glory of all lands," still retains its preëminent character in the eyes of those who thoroughly consider its claims. It may not now flow so plentifully with milk and honey, as it then did, though there is no reason to suppose that its natural fertility is impaired; but while its climate probably, and its extraordinary geographical position certainly, remain as they were, spiritual associations of the sublimest character have been added to those which it possessed in the days of the Prophet, and a glory encircles it, higher than earthly, toward which the hearts of men are turned in homage, and so will be turned, till the end of the world. This supremacy is not affected by the character of its inhabitants, and cannot be overthrown by any future revolutions. The people of God have been driven from the land which he promised and gave them; but still it is the Holy Land. The people of other lands have become civilized and refined, while barbarians have been roaming over Palestine; but Palestine is still, and ever must be reverenced, as the country in which refinement and civilization had their most copious and effectual source. The wild Arab may lurk for

* In justice to another, the writer of this article ought perhaps to mention a mistake in the Essay prefixed to the edition of Mrs. Hemans's Works, published by Ash. An article in "The North American Review" is there attributed to him (p. vii.), of which he was not the author.

plunder among the ruined cities of Judea, and the Turk may rule on Mount Sion, and give the law in the city of the great king; but they cannot rob Bethlehem of its cradle, or Calvary of its cross, or one hill, or stream, or wilderness, of its sacred story; neither can they interfere with the authority of that divine law which goes forth from Israel, or touch with a finger that spiritual sceptre which is stretched out from the land of patriarchs, prophets, and Christ, over the most enlightened portions of the globe.

Most peculiarly is the land of Canaan the land of the soul; the land which seems to be nearest heaven of any spot on earth, to those whose hopes are in heaven as the destination and rest of souls. How can it be otherwise, when it is recognised as the land in which the great dispensations of God were made known to men; on which the son of God descended from heaven, and from which he ascended to his Father again? But look at it with a view to its geographical position alone, and see what a conspicuous place it occupies on the map of the world. Washed by the ultimate waves of the Mediterranean, the very name of which sea denotes its central locality, Palestine looks down over the long extent of its surface, glancing at the whole southern coast of Europe on the right, and the whole northern coast of Africa on the left. Near, on the right hand, are the shores and islands of classical Greece. Near, on the left hand, are the plains and pyramids of Egypt, wrapped in the clouds of ancient mystery, and never shadowed by the rain-clouds of heaven. Above, on the north, lies the great Syrian domain. Behind, toward the east, are the countries which are watered by the Euphrates and Tigris. Below, to the south, is the expanse of the Red Sea, cleaving its way through Egypt and Arabia, up within sight almost of the walls of Jerusalem, as if to offer a passage down its length to the whole Oriental world. Look on a map of the world as known to the ancients, and you perceive that the Holy Land occupies nearly the mathematical centre of that world. Look on a map of the round world as known to us, and you perceive that the Holy Land stands at the very threshold, by the avenues of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, between the European and American continents and the rich empires of the east.

As Palestine lies between the thirty-first and thirty-fourth degrees of north latitude, its climate is favorable to many of the vegetable productions of both temperate and tropical

countries. The districts lying on each side of the river Jordan, which flows through nearly its whole length, joining the Lake of Gennesareth with the Dead Sea, are almost spontaneously fertile. The whole country might be made at any time as productive as it once was, under the hands of industrious cultivators; and ancient history, profane as well as sacred, bears abundant witness to its former productiveness. The principal character, however, which seems stamped on the surface of this land, is that of solemnity, as if it were intended from the first to be a Holy Land. Mountains, which are God's altars, mountains, rocky, precipitous, and stern, rise up in all its extent. The majestic sweeps and summits of Lebanon guard its northern border; Tabor and Hermon and Carmel, with other hills of holy name, stand on their everlasting foundations among the tribes of Israel; and Jerusalem, built upon hills, is encompassed by them, as by a second and heaven-built wall. The beauty of the Lake of Galilee is also made solemn by the mountains which hang over it and shut it in; the stream of Jordan flows through a succession of rich but silent plains, and deep, twilight wildernesses of forest, such as that in which John urged a nation to repent; while the Dead Sea, in which the sacred stream is lost, tells by its name alone, the story of buried cities, for ever hidden in its awful beds, and by the stillness, the weight, and the bitterness of its waters, and the intense solitariness of its shores, of the abiding judgments of God.

But what a history has this land! What an important portion of man's spiritual history is concentrated within its not extensive borders. Originally settled by the sons of Canaan, from whom it derives one of its appellations,—Canaan, the son of Ham, and the grandson of Noah,—it afterwards became the adopted country of Abraham, the father of the Jewish family, to which he emigrated from Chaldea, and in which he obtained possessions. It was the native country of Isaac, of Jacob, and of the sons of Jacob, the patriarchs of the twelve tribes. Here they had their dwellings, and altars, and pastures, and wells, and tombs. From this land, when a sore famine was in it, Jacob and his sons, with their families and their flocks and herds, went down into Egypt. Back again towards this land did their descendants return, under the conduct of Moses and Aaron, and a mightier Hand than theirs,—"Thou leddest thy people like a flock, by the hand of Moses and

Aaron," — journeying through the intervening wilderness, and sojourning in it for the period of forty years; and finally, under the captainship of Joshua, did they enter this land, and establish their separate tribes in their ancient home.

Then came the times of the Judges; and then the splendid reigns of the shepherd-king and monarch-minstrel David, and of his son Solomon, so wise in his youth, so foolish in his age. During these periods the divine institutions of Moses were in full operation; the bounds of Israel's possessions were enlarged; his commerce extended to remote India; and his name was known and respected among the nations. The glorious temple was built at Jerusalem, whither all the tribes went up to worship Jehovah; and those unequalled Psalms were sung there, which are now sung in so many languages and in so many lands.

Next we have the decline of morals and of power; the revolt and separation of the ten tribes; those mournful captivities; the country ravaged; Jerusalem overthrown and desolate; the temple profaned, its walls shattered, its altar cold, its courts empty, its music silent. Yet through this period it is, that we hear those wonderful strains of prophecy, modulated according to the demands of the times, now persuading, encouraging, and blessing in tones of sweetest poetry; now threatening and denouncing in heaven's voice of thunder; now wailing and lamenting like a funeral dirge; and ever and anon uttering intimations of a happy time to come, when Israel should be redeemed and comforted, and a Prince and Saviour should rise up, and establish a sacred kingdom of righteousness, glory, and peace.

The fortunes of the Jewish nation go on unfolding themselves in mingled colors of restless subjection and partial restoration, till they are overshadowed by the Roman sway in the time of the early Roman empire. And now it is, that her star of eternal dominion rises, not red and baleful, but serene and full of light; not seen or acknowledged by herself, but enlightening and healing the world. Now it is, that Bethlehem acquires a lustre greater than even the birth of David could confer upon it, for now it becomes the birth-place of a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord. Now it is, that the secluded town of Nazareth, at the other extremity of the kingdom, out of which it was said that no good thing could come, shelters in one of its cottages, and educates amidst its surrounding

solitudes, the Son of Man and of God, and, at the expiration of thirty years, sends him forth, the Teacher and Redeemer of the human race. Now it is, that a King rides meekly into Jerusalem, who is greater than David or Solomon, and a High Priest is seen in the Temple, entering into the Holy of holies by his own blood, and obtaining not an annual, but eternal redemption.

The essential features of that land are unchanged, through which Jesus travelled on his divine mission, marking his way with miracles of power, of wisdom, and of love. How has he invested with more than double sanctity, every path and spot where patriarch and prophet had already travelled and rested. How full of thrilling interest is the country which everywhere presents us with names, in its towns, its streams, and its mountains, with which his name is connected. Are not the words of the Prophet now most perfectly accomplished, and is not the land of Canaan "the glory of all lands?" If we cannot journey over it in the body, we can make a pilgrimage to it in spirit; and indeed we must become acquainted with its localities, if we would gain an accurate knowledge of the journeys and works of our Lord.

The Holy Land lies spread before us. Jordan flows on as it did, and the tall reeds on its banks are shaken by the wind as they were, when John stood there, and baptized with water Him who was to baptize with the holy spirit and with fire. It flows out from the beautiful Lake or Sea, on the shores of which he passed so large a portion of his ministry, and performed so many of his wonderful works. Behold it, as it stretches far up into Galilee, and glitters in the sun. Just here, on its border, he selected his apostles. On its waves he has often been borne by night and by day. There, out in its midst, the angry storm heard his voice of power, and was hushed; and there he stretched forth his ready hand to uphold his sinking disciple. There are the silent hills where he was wont to pray alone. Among these villages did he pursue his way, clad in the folded robes of the East, accompanied by his disciples, often thronged by the people; now stopping to convey instruction in a parable, the outward materials of which he gathered easily from the objects before him; now yielding to the entreaty of a father, whom grief had made humble, and speaking the word which was to heal his child; at the gates of this town, restoring to a widow her only son from his

bier; by the side of this ancient well, offering to a Samaritan woman the water of life. And now rise the towers and snowy temple of that city, within which he was so often heard, but in vain. O Jerusalem, fallen Jerusalem! — the hills and the lake, and the river, are unchanged; but how changed art thou, since the days of thy pride, and of his humiliation! Thy temple, where is it, except in the mind's vision? According to his sure word, it is utterly ruined! We see the dome and minarets of a mosque on mount Moriah! And yet thou canst not lose thy holiness, desolate city, for in spirit we behold within thy walls the anointed of God and rejected of men. Here, by his fearless rebukes, he sent dismay into the hearts of a perverse generation. Here is the site of that desecrated judgment-hall, in which he was condemned to a cruel death. Just without the walls to the east, and on the ascent of the Mount of Olives, is the garden where he passed the midwatches of the preceding night in agony; and on the opposite side, to the west, is the rising ground, where, suspended between thieves, and surrounded by the thoughtless crowd, he suffered and died.

Land of Canaan; land of the Saviour; land of the old dispensation, and of the new! it is for no light cause that men call thee Holy. However we may question the wisdom, we may not wonder at the zeal, of that strong movement, through which the chieftains and multitudes of Europe rushed to the shores of Palestine, and expended their treasure and their blood in the wars of the Crusades. They could not bear, that the tomb in which their Redeemer was laid with sorrow, and from which he arose in triumph, should be in the hands of infidels; and therefore without regard to consequences, and without regard to the peaceful laws of that Redeemer himself, they established through violence and crime a nominal and temporary Christian dominion on Mount Sion. Terribly were they rebuked, as by the voice of the living Saviour. They took the sword, and they perished by the sword.

More pleasant for a Christian to contemplate, is the use which Christian poetry has made of the associations which spring up from the Land of Promise, and the dominion which Christian affections have asserted in it. We have only to remember that the land of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is also the land of Christ; that the descendant of David reigns spiritually on his father's throne in Mount Sion; that the places, which

were consecrated to the Jews by the remembrance of the saints and prophets of their dispensation, are reconsecrated to us by the steps of the Mediator of a new and better covenant; and we shall understand and feel the beauty of that imagery which Christian poetry and devotion have borrowed from that land, and which is one of the links between the Old and the New. We shall regard it, not as affectation or cant, but as easy appropriateness, for a Christian poet to sing of the heavenly Canaan and the new Jerusalem, when he lifts up his heart from the present world to the country of the saints and the city of God. We are the adopted people of God, brought into his family by his Son, and we are journeying through a wilderness compared with that land of promise and repose. The same God who preceded the Israelites by cloud and by pillared fire, conducts us through its perils, provides us food, shows us his wonders, and gives us his law. For us, there is at last a river to pass,—the Jordan of death. Safely shall they be conducted through it, who trust in Him, and with joy and singing shall they be brought into the inheritance of his children, the land of heavenly abundance and everlasting rest.

These are some of the associations, among a multitude, which have induced Christians to visit Palestine, and journey in it, notwithstanding the difficulties which present themselves to the traveller. Such associations led our author, a celebrated French poet, to wander in this land of the Bible, and pour forth the strains of his own poetry in the account of his Pilgrimage which now lies before us. The book is a very remarkable one, both for its excellences and its faults. The subject was inspiring, and the writer is one who receives and can communicate inspiration. His book, therefore, is, we think, the most poetical journal we have ever seen, not excepting Chateaubriand's. It is not so much a journal as a poem. His descriptions are eminently graphic, and his reflections, which are full of enthusiasm, of pathos, and of devotion, give to each scene a soul. Next to treading the sacred soil ourselves, is the pleasure of reading, and reading again, and afterwards meditating upon these descriptions of it by Lamartine. But then we must say, that in the course of these volumes we meet with specimens of what we hope we are not unjust in calling a French love of display, and disposition to exaggerate. The author says many things which are truly elevating

and affecting; but he also says many things which, though meant to be elevating and affecting, are only turgid, strained, and offensive. There is also too much of episode in his book. It is a long time before he gets to the Holy Land, and then after he leaves it, his road and his journal are rather devious and tedious. He talks about himself till he ceases to be interesting, and grows profoundly egotistic. And then he gives us long translations of Arabic poetry, which would have appeared well enough in some other place, but here, only leave the impression that they unnecessarily swell his volumes; and an unpleasant suspicion of book-making is thus imparted. But, notwithstanding all this, his pictures are so vividly and religiously colored, and his personal narrative, especially those parts which relate to his griefs, and the loss of an only daughter, are so touching, that we pardon his faults, and regard his whole work as a most valuable gift.

We will now make a few extracts from the "Pilgrimage," that those who have not read it, may form an idea of the author's manner. The following description of Tyre is, perhaps, liable to the charge of exaggeration; but if so, the exaggeration is evidently produced by true and intense feeling.

"We departed from Kantara before day-break, and ascended several barren and rocky hills, stretching like promontories into the sea. From the summit of the last and most elevated of these ascents, Tyre is beheld, appearing at the extremity of a vast and barren elevation. Between the sea and the last heights of Lebanon, which here rapidly diminish, extends a naked, barren plain of about twenty miles in length, and four or five in breadth, of a yellow tint, covered only with thorny shrubs, browsed by the camels of the caravan, on their passage. Tyre is built on a peninsula stretching into the sea, and connected with the continent by a narrow neck of land covered with a golden sand, wafted by the wind from Egypt.

"This city, at present called Sour by the Arabs, is situated at the further extremity of the abovementioned peninsula, and seems to rise out of the waves. At a distance, you would still imagine it to be a new, beautiful, white, and animated city; but it is nothing more than a fine shadow, which vanishes on approaching it. A few hundreds of falling houses, in which the Arabs fold large flocks of sheep and black goats with long hanging ears, which defiled before us in the plain, are all that remains of Tyre! She has no longer a port on the sea, no longer roads upon land: the prophecies respecting her have been long since accomplished.

"We travelled on in silence, occupied by the thoughts of this

desolation, and of the dust of empire which we trod under our feet. Passing along a path, between the ruins and the gray and naked hills of Lebanon, which here descend to the plain, we arrived at the city, now flanked by a sand-bank, which seems its only existing rampart, but which will doubtless, ere long, bury the town under its mass. I thought of the prophecies, and endeavoured to bring to my recollection some of those eloquent warnings with which the divine spirit inspired Ezekiel. I could not recall the words, but I discovered the meaning in the deplorable reality before my eyes. A few lines which I had traced at random on my departure for the East came fresh into my mind.

> I have not heard, beneath the cedars old,
> Resounding cries from busy nations rolled:
> Nor seen, where Lebanon's black heights aspire,
> God's missioned eagles dart from thence on Tyre.

"I had now before me the 'black' Lebanon; but, I said to myself, my imagination has deceived me: I see neither the eagles nor the vultures, which, according to the prophecies, were to descend unceasingly from the mountains, to despoil even the remains of the city, accursed of God, and the enemy of his people.

"At the moment I made these reflections, something huge, grotesque, and motionless, appeared at our left on the summit of a pointed rock, which advanced into the plain not far distant, close to the route of the caravans. It looked to me like five statues of black stone, placed on the rock as on a pedestal; but from certain motions almost imperceptible of these colossal figures, we fancied, on approaching nearer, that they were five Bedouin Arabs, clothed in their sacks of black goat's hair, who were looking at us as we passed.

"When, however, we came at the distance of fifty paces from the rock, we saw one of the five figures display a pair of immense wings, which it flapped with a noise resembling that of a sail shaking in the breeze, and it now became clear that the figures were those of five eagles, of the largest kind I had ever seen in the Alps, or in the menageries of our cities. They did not take flight, but remained unmoved at our approach. Seated like kings of the desert, they seemed to regard Tyre as their proper prey, whereunto they were going to return. They appeared conscious of possessing it by divine right; as if they were willing instruments of a prophetic vengeance, which they were determined to execute upon man and in spite of man.

"I could not cease from contemplating this prophecy in action, — this wonderful fulfilment of the divine menaces, of which chance had rendered us witnesses. Never had any thing more supernatural struck my eyes, or riveted my mind; and it required an effort

of reason not to see, behind these five gigantic eagles, the great and terrible figure of the poet of vengeance, — of Ezekiel, — rising above them, and pointing out to them, with eye and hand, the city which God had given them as a prey, — while the wind of divine wrath agitated the flowing, snowy beard of the prophet, and the fire of celestial indignation sparkled in his eyes.

"We halted at the distance of forty paces; the eagles merely turned their heads, as if disdainfully regardless of us. Two individuals belonging to the caravan galloped to the foot of the rock, armed with their guns. The eagles paid no attention to this; the guns were loaded with ball, and several shots were fired, which made them fly heavily away for a moment, but they voluntarily returned to the fire, and hovered long over our heads, without being struck by either of the balls, — as if they meant to say, — 'Your efforts against us are powerless; we are the eagles of God.'

"I now found that my poetical imagination had exhibited to me the eagles of Tyre less faithfully, less impressively, less supernaturally than the fact warranted; and that there is ever in the most obscure rays of the *mens divinior* of poets something of that divining and prophetic instinct which utters the truth without knowing it." — Vol. I. pp. 172 - 174.

Here is a scene of a different character, — a sight of Mount Tabor, a glimpse of the Lake of Galilee, and a view of the river Jordan.

"We departed at four o'clock in the morning for Mount Tabor, the spot assigned to the Transfiguration, a thing improbable, because at that period the summit of Mount Tabor was covered with a Roman citadel. The isolated position, and the elevation of this charming mountain, which rises like a bower of verdure from the plain of Esdraelon, caused it to be selected in the time of St. Jerome, as the site of this sacred scene. A chapel has been erected on the summit, where pilgrims go to hear mass; no priests reside there: — they go from Nazareth.

"We arrived at the foot of Mount Tabor: it is a superb cone, perfectly regular, and covered everywhere with vegetation and the green oak. The guide had misled us. I sat down alone at the foot of a beautiful oak, near the spot chosen by Raphael for his picture of the disciples, dazzled by a brightness from Heaven, and I waited until the Father celebrated mass. It was announced from above, by the firing of a pistol, in order that we might kneel on the natural steps of this gigantic altar, before Him who raised the altar, and extended the starry canopy which covers it.

"At noon we started for Jordan, and the Sea of Galilee, and crossed by one o'clock at the low, and tolerably shaded hills from which Mount Tabor rises. We entered on a large plain, twenty

miles long, and as many wide, with a ruined khan in the midst, of the architecture of the middle ages. We then passed several villages of poor Arabs, who cultivated the plain. Each village has a well, situated at a little distance, near which are planted a few fig and pomegranate trees, the only trace of comfort to be seen. The houses can alone be distinguished when we are very near them; they are, in fact, from six to eight feet high, — a species of cubes of mud, with cut straw to form the roof, — which roof serves as a sort of court-yard, where all their furniture is displayed, consisting of a mat and a blanket: the children and the women remain there always. The women are not veiled; they paint their lips and eye-brows blue, with a slight tatooing round the lips on the cheeks. They are clad in blue vests, tied above the hips with a white sash: they all bear the appearance of poverty and suffering. The men are covered with a cloak without seams, of a heavy stuff, striped irregularly with black and white; the legs, arms, and chest are naked.

"After having crossed, in the space of six hours, this yellow, rocky, yet fertile plain, we perceived the land slope suddenly before us, and discovered the immense valley of Jordan, and the first azure reflections of the beautiful lake of Gennasareth (or Sea of Galilee, as it was called by the ancients, and in the Gospel). It soon opened entirely before us, surrounded on every side, save the south, with high gray or black mountains. At its southern extremity, and immediately beneath our feet, it narrowed, leaving a passage for that river of the prophets and the Gospel, — the Jordan!

"The Jordan issues in a winding form, and enters the low and marshy plain of Esdraelon, at about fifty paces from the lake. In passing it bubbled a little, thus greeting us with its first murmur, under the ruined arches of a bridge of Roman architecture. It was there, whither we directed our steps down a steep and stony descent, and where we wished to salute the waters consecrated by the recollections of two religions; in a few minutes we were on the banks, and having dismounted, bathed our heads, our hands, and feet in the soft waters, which are blue and warm like the waters of the Rhine when they issue from the lake of Geneva. The Jordan at this spot, which is probably about the middle of its course, would not be called a great river, in a country of larger dimensions; but it is much greater than the Eurotas, and all the rivers whose fabulous historical names are imprinted early in our memory, and convey with them the idea of greatness, rapidity, and abundance, which the aspect of the reality destroys. The Jordan, even here, is more than a torrent; although, at the end of a dry autumn, it rolls gently in its bed, about one hundred feet wide, presenting a sheet of water, from two to three feet deep, clear, lim-

pid, and transparent (so that pebbles may be counted at the bottom), and of that beautiful color which enables water to reflect the deep-blue firmament of Asia, — nay, more blue itself, — even than the sky, which, in reflecting, it enriches.

"At from twenty to thirty paces from the river, the shore, which is now dry, is covered with rolling stones, reeds, and a few tufts of rose-laurel, which are still in flower. This shore is five or six feet below the level of the plain, and manifests what the size of the river must be when at its height; it will then, I conceive, be about ten feet deep, and from sixty to one hundred and twenty feet wide. It is narrower, both higher up and lower down the plain; but then it is more confined and consequently deeper. The spot where we contemplated it is one of the four fords which the river furnishes in its course. I drank, in the hollow of my hand, of the waters of Jordan, — of that water of which so many divine poets had drank before me, — of that water which had flowed on the innocent head of the voluntary victim! I found it perfectly soft, of an agreeable flavor, and great limpidity. The habit which one contracts in the East, of drinking water only, and drinking it often, renders the palate an excellent judge of a new water. The water of Jordan only wants one quality, — coolness. Though I had been heated by a march of eleven hours in the sun on a sultry day, my hands, lips, and forehead felt the sensation of warmth in touching the water of the river.

"Like all travellers who come, after braving so many fatigues and dangers, from great distances to visit, in its deserted state, this once royal river, I filled several bottles with its waters to take to my friends, who were less fortunate than myself; and I filled the holsters of my pistols with pebbles, which I gathered on its shores. Why could I not also carry with me the holy and prophetic inspiration with which it slaked the thirst of the bards of its sacred banks, — and, above all, a little of that purity which it contracted, no doubt, in bathing the purest and the most holy of the children of men!" — pp. 187 - 189.

The whole description of Jerusalem and its environs is very striking, but we can only take from it the following fragment, relating to the Garden of Gethsemane.

"On rising, I observed behind me about an acre of land, touching on one side the elevated bank of the torrent of Cedron, and on the other, rising gently to the base of the Mount of Olives. A low wall of stones, without cement, surrounds this field, and eight olive-trees, standing at about twenty or thirty paces' distance from each other, nearly cover it with their shade. These olive-trees are amongst the largest of their species I have ever seen: tradition makes their age mount to the era of the incarnate God, who

is said to have chosen them to conceal His divine agonies. Their appearance might, if necessary, confirm the tradition which venerates them: their immense roots, as the growth of ages, have lifted up the earth and stones which covered them, and rising many feet above the surface of the soil, offer to the pilgrim natural benches, upon which he may kneel, or sit down to collect the holy thoughts which descend from their silent heads. A trunk, knotted, channelled, hollowed, as with the deep wrinkles of age, rises like a large pillar over these groups of roots: and, as if overwhelmed and bowed down by the weight of its days, it inclines to the right or left, leaving in a pendant position its large interlaced, but once horizontal branches, which the axe has a hundred times shortened to restore their youth. These old and weighty branches bending over the trunk bear other young ones, which rose a little towards the sky, and had produced a few shoots, one or two years old, crowned by bunches of leaves, and darkened by little blue olives, which fall like celestial relics at the feet of the Christian traveller. I separated from the caravan which had tarried round the tomb of the Virgin, and seated myself for a moment on the roots of the most solitary and oldest of these olive-trees; its foliage hid the walls of Jerusalem from me; and its large trunk screened me from the observation of some shepherds, who were tending black sheep on the brow of the Mount of Olives.

"I had nothing within sight but the deep and rugged ravine of Cedron, and the tops of other olive-trees, which, from this spot, cover the extent of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. No noise arose from the dry bed of the torrent; no leaf trembled on the tree; I closed my eyes for a moment, and reverted in thought to that night, the eve of the redemption of the human race, when the Divine Messenger drank to the dregs the chalice of agony, before meeting his death at the hands of man as the reward of his celestial message. I inquired of my heart what part I had in the salvation He came to purchase for the world at so heavy a price; I represented to myself the extremity of anguish which must have rent the bosom of the Son of Man when he contemplated at a single glance all the misery, the darkness, the bitterness, the vanity, the iniquities of the lot of man; when it was His will, alone to lift the burden of the crimes and misfortunes under which human nature, bowed down and groaning, passes through this valley of tears; when He perceived that even a new consolation, and truth itself, could not be brought to man but at the price of His life: when drawing back in terror before the shadow of death, which He already felt upon him, He said to his Father, 'Let this cup pass from me!'—and I, feeble, ignorant, miserable man, I also may cry at the foot of the same tree, 'Lord! may my cup of bitterness pass from me, may it be poured by Thee into the chalice

already drunk for us! He had strength to drink it to the dregs; He knew Thee; He had seen Thee: He knew wherefore he was about to drink it; He knew the immortal life which awaited him beyond his tomb of three days;— but I, Lord, what do I know, except the sufferings which rend my heart, and the hopes which they have taught me?' " — pp. 250, 251.

We need no painter now to draw for us those Olives, under which the Son of Man spent a midnight of agony. We see them; we even hear them. They are not so much trees as beings. They are aged witnesses of that most solemn scene; and we too could kneel under them, and humble ourselves, and weep. We need give no further evidences of our author's power; and after such a passage as this which we have just quoted, we do not feel disposed to draw from his volumes any evidences of his weakness.

ART. VII. — *Yarrow Revisited, and other Poems.* By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1835. 16mo. pp. 244.

WHEN this volume was announced, the great and increasing number of Mr. Wordsworth's admirers awaited its appearance with eagerness. Public opinion, though still divided as to the precise rank of his poetical genius, had done high honor to his name. Those who had at first ridiculed his pretensions, were compelled at last to allow him a place among the great poets who have illustrated the age; while his most earnest admirers admitted that his theory of poetry, and his excessive straining after simplicity, had marred the effect of some of his grandest strains by mere puerilities. It was supposed, on all hands, that increasing age, greater experience, and the storm of criticism, good, bad, and indifferent, with which he had so long been assailed, would have tempered down the passion which his really great mind had conceived for a theory. It was therefore supposed that this volume, the offspring of his green old age, would be freer from his peculiar faults, and fuller of his peculiar beauties, than any preceding volume of his poems.

But the readers of Mr. Wordsworth are somewhat divided in their opinions of its merits. The London Quarterly Review uses language of extravagant eulogy, which will raise expectations that must be disappointed.

We think this volume must give pleasure to all readers of taste and sensibility, though by no means the same kind or degree of pleasure which they feel in reading passages of the Excursion. It contains poems on a great variety of subjects: but there are not many among them, which are calculated to excite a lively interest, except perhaps in minds of a very reflective cast. The spirit which breathes through every page, is delicate and pure. A kindly sympathy with every feeling of the human heart, embracing the affections of the lowest of mankind, a calm, ever-present love of Nature, and a placid vein of meditation, are its leading characteristics. Many of the descriptions have a minute fidelity to nature adorned by the beauty of choice language and harmonious numbers, and several of the narrative pieces are marked by great simplicity and elegance. Many of the sonnets are written in a style of severe beauty, that modern literature has never surpassed. But there are a few passages which carry simplicity into weakness; and others so strictly personal, that they are justly liable to the charge of egotism. A large part indeed, of the volume, is made up of records of feeling, almost too private for publication. Personal details, which most men keep to themselves, Mr. Wordsworth has a singular fancy for embodying in his poems. But besides these, any scene that happens to strike his imagination; any incident that touches the chord of feeling; any association that calls up some old local superstition, or some historical event, afford him hints for ballads, tales, or sonnets.

"Yarrow Revisited," from which the volume takes its title, is a memorial of a visit to that stream in company with Sir Walter Scott, when that celebrated man was about to depart for Italy. The subject suits well the genius of Mr. Wordsworth, and the language of the piece is pure and flowing. The structure of the verse does not correspond to the grave style of thought. It is altogether too light and dancing. The first four lines are an example of Mr. Wordsworth's objectionable peculiarities.

> "The gallant youth, who may have gained
> Or seeks a 'Winsome Marrow,'
> Was but an infant in the lap
> When first I looked on Yarrow."

The images presented here are, in themselves, pretty and simple; but, at the beginning of this poem, they have the air of a far-fetched conceit and are wholly out of place. The following stanzas are pleasing and elegant.

" For busy thoughts the stream flowed on
In foamy agitation ;
And slept in many a crystal pool
For quiet contemplation :
No public and no private care
The freeborn mind enthralling,
We made a day of happy hours,
Our happy days recalling.

" Brisk youth appeared, the morn of youth,
With freaks and graceful folly, —
Life's temperate noon, her sober eve,
Her night not melancholy,
Past, present, future, all appeared
In harmony united,
Like guests that meet, and some from far,
By cordial love invited.

" And if as Yarrow, through the woods
And down the meadow ranging,
Did meet us with unaltered face,
Though we were changed and changing ;
If *then*, some natural shadows spread
Our inward prospect over,
The soul's deep valley was not slow
Its brightness to recover." — p. 18.

Two or three of the rhymes, in this poem, are defective; for instance, on page 18, *honor* is made to rhyme with *upon her;* and, on page 20, we have the ludicrous jingle of *sunshine* with *moonshine.*

The following Sonnet, " On the Departure of Sir Walter Scott from Abbotsford, for Naples," is as finished and exquisite as the ode of Horace to the ship which was to carry Virgil from Italy.

" A trouble, not of clouds, or weeping rain,
Nor of the setting sun's pathetic light
Engendered, hangs o'er Eildon's triple height :
Spirits of power, assembled there, complain,
For kindred power departing from their sight ;

While Tweed, best pleased in chanting a blithe strain,
Saddens his voice again, and yet again.
Lift up your hearts, ye mourners! for the might
Of the whole world's good wishes with him goes;
Blessings and prayers in nobler retinue
Than sceptered king or laurelled conqueror knows,
Follow this wondrous potentate. Be true,
Ye winds of ocean, and the midland sea,
Wafting your charge to soft Parthenope!" —p. 21.

This part of the volume contains twenty-two Sonnets, with the "Apology," and the little poem on "The Highland Broach," all of which are commemorative of incidents, or descriptive of places, to which the poet's attention was drawn during his tour in Scotland, in 1831. Most of them are very pleasing; but they run into that minuteness of detail, and that labored delineation of the smallest traits in the scenes described, for which Wordsworth is remarkable beyond all the other poets of the age. Shades of feeling, as transient as the passing cloud of a summer day, are touched with the most careful hand. Thoughts, associations, impressions, simple as those of childhood, are wrought into the substance of these little pieces.

"The Egyptian Maid" is a tale of romance and magic. The narrative is skilfully constructed and the verse harmonious; but there are passages, of which the connexion and bearing are not very intelligible.

The "Ode composed on May Morning," and that "To May," for richness of language, harmony of verse, and beauty of imagery, are among the best in the volume.

"The Armenian Lady's Love" is a romantic story of the olden time. The subject of it is the love of a Sultan's daughter for a Christian captive, and the heroical manner in which she risked every thing to set him free. Though she learns from the lips of the Christian, that he is already wedded to one, who in his absence "counts widowed hours," she persists in her generous purpose of liberating him, and they escape together. After many adventures, full of peril, they arrive at Venice, the Christian's home, and the Armenian is welcomed with the honors due to the captive's noble deliverer. She renounces the Moslem faith, becomes a Christian, and passes a happy life, with those whom she has so greatly blessed. This little poem is free from all of Mr. Wordsworth's faults. The style

is simple, the sentiments are natural, and all the associations it awakens are poetical. The character of the Armenian Lady, in particular, though slightly sketched, is full of beauty.

"The Poet and the caged Turtledove," on page 90, is so simple as to be silly. The feelings expressed in it are childish, but, according to Mr. Wordsworth's theory and practice, they are not the less fitted for poetry on that account.

"The Russian Fugitive," is the longest poem in the volume. In general, the story is told with elegance and dignity, but there is an occasional line, marked and marred by the Wordsworthian simplicity. For example, in Part II., describing the hiding-place of Ina, the poet says

> " Advancing, you might guess an hour,
> The front with such nice care
> Is masked, 'if house it be or bower,' " &c. &c.

In the following stanza, an idea is introduced, that savours strongly of *conceit.*

> " The prayer is heard, the Saints have seen,
> Diffused through form and face,
> Resolves devotedly serene,
> That monumental grace
> Of faith which doth all passions tame
> That reason *should* control,
> *And shows in the untrembling frame*
> *A statue of the soul.*"

Perhaps the best part of the volume is the series beginning on page 116, called "Evening Voluntaries." The train of reflections, which naturally spring up during that sober hour, harmonizes well with the character of Mr. Wordsworth's contemplative mind. With his deep sensibility to all the influences of nature, it would be impossible for him not to be poetical amidst the solemn shades, and the mysterious repose, and the softening indistinctness thrown over all things, at early evening. Accordingly his meditations fall naturally into the gravest English measure, and move in a majestic and stately march, singularly appropriate to the topics successively touched upon. The rest into which all animated nature sinks, the soothing sounds that murmur awhile and then die away, the changing hues of the outward world, and the moral associations, which they are so powerful in calling up, are described

in a succession of rich and sonorous verses, connected by exquisitely natural transitions, which it would not be easy to equal from any other poet of the day. In the juvenile poems of Coleridge, there are a few pieces that resemble them; but Coleridge was too fond of harsh inversions, and out-of-the-way expressions, to make those pieces universally pleasing. These, on the contrary, are touched with the finest taste and the mellowest imagination; they resemble in effect, the blended colors with which the western sky is tinted after a summer sunset.

The opening of the first is strikingly beautiful.

> "Calm is the fragrant air, and loth to lose
> Day's grateful warmth, though moist with falling dews;
> Look for the stars, you 'll say that there are none;
> Look up a second time, and one by one
> You mark them twinkling out with silvery light
> And wonder how they could elude the sight," &c.

In the following passage, the description in the first part, with the moral application at the conclusion, is one of the poet's happiest "strokes of art."

> "Soft as a cloud is yon blue ridge,—the mere
> Seems firm as solid crystal, breathless, clear,
> And motionless: and, to the gazer's eye,
> Deeper than ocean, in the immensity
> Of its vague mountains and unreal sky!
> But, from the process in that still retreat,
> Turn to minuter changes at our feet;
> Observe how dewy twilight has withdrawn
> The crowd of daisies from the shaven lawn,
> And has restored to view its tender green,
> That, while the sun rode high, was lost beneath their dazzling sheen.
> —An emblem this of what the sober hour
> Can do for minds disposed to feel its power!
> Thus oft, when we in vain have wished away
> The petty pleasures of the garish day,
> Meek eve shuts up the whole usurping host
> (Unbashful dwarfs each glittering at his post),
> And leaves the disencumbered spirit free
> To reassume a staid simplicity.
> 'T is well,—but what are helps of time and place,
> When wisdom stands in need of nature's grace;
> Why do good thoughts, invoked or not, descend,
> Like angels from their bowers, our virtues to befriend,

If yet to-morrow, unbelied, may say,
'I come to open out, for fresh display,
The elastic vanities of yesterday?'" — pp. 119, 120.

In the seventh of this series ("By the Sea-Side"), there are passages of remarkable beauty. The description is worked up with minuteness and delicacy, and fills the mind with a sense of the finest harmony. The following lines, towards the end of the poem, are equal in the correspondence of sound to sense, and in general expressive power, to the best descriptive passages of the ancients. We should be glad to quote the piece entire, but must be content with a few lines.

"Yet oh! how gladly would the air be stirred
By some acknowledgment of thanks and praise,
Soft in its temper as those vesper lays
Sung to the Virgin while accordant oars
Urge the slow bark along Calabrian shores;
A sea-born service, through the mountains felt,
Till into one loved vision all things melt."

But the same praise cannot be extended to all the poems of this series, — the following for instance.

"The sun has long been set,
The stars are out by twos and threes,
The little birds are piping yet
Among the bushes and trees;
There's a cuckoo, and one or two thrushes,
And a far-off wind that rushes,
And a sound of water that gushes
And the cuckoo's sovereign cry
Fills all the hollow of the sky.
Who would 'go parading'
In London, 'and masquerading,'
On such a night of June
With that beautiful soft half-moon,
And all these innocent blisses,
On such a night as this is?"

"The Laborer's Noon-day Hymn" is composed in a fine strain of pious thankfulness. The "Wren's Nest" is pleasing and simple, but has no striking merit. The next series is a succession of Sonnets, composed or suggested during a tour in Scotland, in 1833. They do not differ, in their general character, from those we have already spoken of. They contain many fine descriptive passages, interwoven with delicate moral

reflections, but are not of a kind to excite a strong interest, except so far as they may be viewed in the light of personal notices of their author.

This volume shows, that Mr. Wordsworth is not only a true lover of Nature, but a thorough student of Nature's language. It must be confessed, however, that there is too much seeking after poetical effect, and that this banishes the idea of immediate, uncontrollable inspiration, which the great poets of the world have so strongly impressed on the minds of men, as to affect the common forms of speech. Perhaps the old inspiration is gone. In ancient times, the poet looked freely and joyously on the world around him, and poured out his song as naturally as the birds of the grove. But, in the high civilization of this age, the poet's childhood and youth are cooped up within the walls of the school-house and college; and he is forced to con and construe other men's thoughts at second hand from Nature. He becomes a reasoner and a critic. His head is filled with wise saws and modern instances. He can make nonsense verses in English, and perhaps in Latin, to perfection. He can apply the nicest rules of rhetoric to composition, and scan with precision the most complicated metres. But there is great danger lest his love of Nature be supplanted by the strong interest of passion and romance. He becomes a cultivated man; but the freshness and enthusiasm of the child of Nature are gone. Reasoning and eloquence delight him; but the breath of heaven, the bright flowers and the green fields, less readily find an avenue to touch his heart. In literature, propriety of speech is more likely to move him than truth of sentiment. A false application of a word or phrase will disturb him more than a false description or a tame thought. But Mr. Wordsworth has striven to undo all the ties that artificial life has bound around him. He has attempted to go back to the simplicity of primitive man. He tries to look on nature as if she had never been looked on before, and to express the elemental feelings of the heart, as if they had never been expressed before. All his errors and weaknesses grow out of the excess to which he carries this principle; and the volume before us is not free from these unfortunate peculiarities. But if it shows too much egotism in the allusions to his character as a poet, and to his "Rydalian laurels," it must be confessed the vanity is almost justified by the worship of an increasing school of devoted desciples, and the growing disposition

of the world at large to do him homage. We cannot, however, entirely rid ourselves of an unpleasant impression, that he is often poetical because he feels it his duty to be poetical,— that he sets out, *with malice prepense*, to be poetically affected by the contemplation of a scene in nature, and that he is deliberately inspired with it, because he has a sort of professional character to support. Now this perpetual consciousness of being a poet, and having certain poetical duties to perform at all times, cannot be very graciously regarded by readers beyond the circle of the initiated. But, with all these deductions, the poems of Mr. Wordsworth will always be ranked among the most remarkable monuments of reflective genius, that our age has produced.

C. C. F.

ART. VIII. — *A Sermon preached in King's Chapel, November, 22, 1835, the Sunday after the Funeral of the* REV. JAMES FREEMAN, D. D. By F. W. P. GREENWOOD, surviving Minister of King's Chapel. Boston: Russell, Shattuck, & Williams. 1835. 8vo. pp. 26.

THE death of Dr. Freeman, in a venerable old age, has already called forth the tributes, which his good name, his distinguished moral worth, and the services of a faithful ministry seemed to demand. Nor were these the expressions only of the personal attachment which his character could not fail to conciliate, but they were due to the place which he occupied in the public regards. As, however, it is full ten years since his voice has been heard in our pulpits, or his benignant countenance been seen in any of our assemblies, it is probable that not a few among the younger portions of our readers, who perhaps have heard of him chiefly as a retired minister, may be surprised at the encomiums, which even the most cautious and discriminating friendship may be eager to bestow. For, so brief is the active life of man, even of him to whom is permitted the longest term; so rapidly do the fathers pass away, and the children rise into their places; so much, also, does public fame, — that most fleeting of earthly things, — depend on being actually within the view of men, that a retirement of but a short duration shall be enough to withdraw an individual

from notice, and to make the younger generation strangers, except perchance by his name, to the man whom their fathers rejoiced to honor.

Nor can we but regard it as among the trials incident to old age, from which the most virtuous and honored are not exempted, that in surviving their early contemporaries, they must bequeath their fame to the keeping of a generation, who have not known them, or have known them chiefly in the evening of their days, and with their growing infirmities. The sweet promise of their youth, fulfilled in their vigorous manhood; the memory of their active and honorable career; of the wisdom and eloquence with which they instructed and did persuade; of the generous and enlightened charity, by which they adorned their faith; and even of those more signal services, which gave them glory in the sight of their coevals, are, if not forgotten, yet inadequately estimated by another generation. They are gone, who could tell, because they had witnessed, and themselves contributed, to their meridian fame; and who could be indulgent to the infirmities that *are*, because they remember what has been.

These remarks, illustrating the transitoriness of human fame, and the tendency of the present to obliterate, at least, to obscure the past, are only in a limited extent applicable to the subject of this notice; whose felicity it was, to have been gathering around him all his days a "troop" of younger friends, who, as they were the chosen solace of his old age, are, now that he is gone, the guardians of his fame. The number is not small of those among us, who, — either from the endearments of kindred, respect for an affectionate Pastor, or gratitude to one, who, without any obligation from such relations, was still their paternal counsellor and friend, — love to recall, as among the encouragements of their youth, the gentleness of his manners, the unaffected kindness of his temper, the little gifts or tokens of his regard, — all made precious by his unquestioned goodness and irreproachable life. The practical wisdom, moreover, which distinguished Dr. Freeman, and made him *act* upon what men in general only *see*, taught him that it was well to unite himself betimes with the young as well as with the old. He was mindful of the ravages, that time must inevitably make upon even the widest circles of society. He early suffered them in his own; and, as the friends of his youth, or the earlier companions of his ministry fell around him, the

natural benevolence, perhaps we should rather say the real wants of his heart, uniting with a sincere interest in the characters and prospects of young men, led him easily to accept in the places of the old those who succeeded them. Thus he practised upon the counsel we remember to have once heard from another, not less venerable for the virtues of his old age: "Keep your friendships in repair," — for, sooner than we can imagine, more will be they of our early companions who are in their graves, than they that remain with the living.

Dr. Freeman, as few, we may presume, of our readers need to be informed, was the Minister for more than fifty years of King's Chapel in this city. He was born in Charlestown, April 22d, 1759; received his preparatory education in the Latin Grammar School in Boston, under the celebrated Master Lovell, the Dr. Busby of New England schoolmasters; was graduated at Harvard College in 1777, in the class of which Rufus King, Judge Dawes, and the late Dr. Porter of Roxbury were members; pursued his theological studies for the most part at Cambridge; and having officiated in various pulpits, both Congregational and Episcopalian, was solemnly inducted, agreeably to a plan of ordination previously adopted, as the "Rector, Minister, and Pastor" of King's Chapel, Nov. 18th, 1787; having previously, as will soon more particularly be noticed, officiated in these relations from April, 1783. He sustained the various duties of his ministry without assistance until January 1st, 1809, when the Rev. Samuel Cary was at his request associated with him as colleague; after whose death at Royston, England, in 1815, at the early age of thirty, Dr. Freeman again served alone until August, 1824, when the Rev. Francis W. P. Greenwood, formerly of the New South Church in Boston, was inducted as the second colleague he had received, and is now the surviving Pastor.*

In the summer of 1826, the increasing infirmities of Dr. Freeman demanded his retirement into the country. This was at a pleasant family residence in Newton, where, without once visiting Boston again, but constantly visited by his grateful parishioners and friends, young as well as old, amidst occasionally severe sufferings from disease, but in great tranquillity and serene Christian hopes, he continued more than nine

* See, for a fuller account, the interesting "History of King's Chapel," by the Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood. p. 145.

years; and at length expired November 14th, 1835, being in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and, including his whole term of service before as well as after his ordination, in the fifty-fourth of his ministry. We shall perhaps have presented all that is essential in the order of dates or the prominent passages of his literary life, when we add, that Dr. Freeman was among the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society, to whose volumes he contributed some of their most valuable communications; that he was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; that, in 1811, he received from Harvard University the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity; and, that besides several funeral discourses upon the deaths of parishioners or friends,* he published in 1812, a volume of "Sermons on Particular Occasions," which having passed through a third edition, was followed in 1829 by another, printed as a gift to his flock, but not published, significantly entitled "Eighteen Sermons and a Charge." This latter volume, like the first edition of the former, was without the author's name; an omission unusual certainly with a writer who, like Dr. Freeman, could not be unconscious of the well-earned reputation he enjoyed, and which, with other traits we might adduce of a kindred sort, may be counted by his friends rather among the innocent peculiarities of his taste and feelings, than as any clear attestations of personal humility, or dread of the censures of criticism. For ourselves we must think, that the truest humility rather avoids in such matters what is peculiar; and commits itself with a generous confidence to the course of things, and to the candid judgment of the community.

The ministry of Dr. Freeman, maintained through so remarkable a term of years, and commencing under circumstances altogether unpreeedented, connect his name in an uncommon degree with the interests of his church, and with the progress of the religious opinions, of which he was there so distinguished an advocate. The history of King's Chapel embraces in truth the whole history of Episcopalianism in this city, from the time

* We refer to discourses on the deaths of his friend Dr. John Eliot, preached at the New North Church, and printed without a name; of his colleague, the Rev. Samuel Cary; and of his parishioners, Mrs. Susan Bulfinch, relict of Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, and Joseph Coolidge, Esq.

of its introduction in 1686, under the auspices of Edward Randolph, Esq., its early and "incessant" advocate, and of the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, its first preacher, not in Boston only, but in New England, to the signal change which took place in its constitution and liturgy in 1785. "This important change," says Mr. Greenwood,* "is to be attributed mainly to the judicious and learned expositions of Mr. Freeman, who preached a series of doctrinal sermons to his people, and, by the aid and influence of the word of God, moved them to respond to his sentiments." From the same authentic history, as well as from the discourse before us, we learn, that "on the 8th of September, 1782, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, before and long after an eminent Physician of Boston, addressed a letter to Mr. James Freeman, then at Walpole, which was followed by a more formal one, signed by both the Wardens, in which he was invited to officiate at the Chapel as Reader for six months. On the 18th of October, Mr. Freeman entered on his duties in that capacity; and on the 21st of April, 1783, at the Easter meeting of the proprietors, he was chosen Pastor of the Church." In 1785, the proprietors adopted the Liturgy, as amended by the committee they had previously appointed for this purpose, who were directed to consult and communicate with their Pastor; and thus, within less than three years from the commencement of Mr. Freeman's ministry, "the first Episcopal church in New England became the first Unitarian church in America."†

A due notice of the labors and influence of Dr. Freeman in the diffusion of Unitarian Christianity would be justly expected in even the briefest account of his life. They are the distinguishing and peculiar feature of his ministry; and it is on them, with the personal virtues which attracted their esteem, that his friends will probably be most desirous to rest his reputation. Within his own church, that influence must have been of the most decisive kind; and the signal change it effected was accomplished, as we have seen, within the first three years of his ministry, when as yet he was a young man. But, in

* History of King's Chapel, pp. 135–139.

† "The alterations made in the Liturgy were principally those of Dr. Samuel Clarke, the celebrated English divine, and for the most part were such as involved the omission of the doctrine of the Trinity. The work, as amended, was immediately put to press, and was used in this Church till 1811, when other amendments were made."

this very fact, it is impossible not to perceive, that a spirit of inquiry and liberal speculation must have previously existed in the minds of his parishioners, of which in truth their selection of him as their minister was of itself a sufficient indication. Doubtless the Revolution, by dissolving the ties of the mother country and the Church of its establishment, contributed greatly to the diffusion of this spirit among all classes of the community, clergy as well as laity. And it cannot be forgotten what examples of this spirit had already been given in the preaching and writings of Mayhew and Chauncy. These eminent men, the one by his patient and honest investigation pursued through a laborious ministry of three-score years, the other by his generous love of liberty, animating a most fearless spirit and a truly eloquent soul, accomplished much in the cause of religious freedom, and prepared the way for more that followed. Nor even at that early period did these stand alone. In various parts of Massachusetts, especially in the county of Essex, and in some of the flourishing villages on the banks of the beautiful Merrimack, were found not a few, of whom we might mention Balch, Webster, the elder Barnard of Salem, his brother of Haverhill, and, more recently, Tucker, who, by the liberal strain of their preaching, and some of them by their controversial publications, were effectual helpers in the same good work. It is true, that Unitarianism, properly considered, was not the subject of their inculcation. That doctrine had not yet come into discussion; and probably there were those, like Chauncy and (in times nearer our own) Dr. Osgood of Medford, who, though virtually Unitarians, chose to retain, in their prayers and in their ascriptions, the received phraseology of the ancient school. Still, we should deem ourselves unjust to the claims of these venerable men, did we forget, that to the *spirit* of their doctrine, to the freedom and fearlessness with which they maintained the rights of conscience, exposed the exclusiveness and fanaticism of Whitfield, with the Genevan Theology of their day, and obtained for themselves the reproach of Arminianism, are we of these latter times indebted for the foundations of that temple of truth, which has since risen up among us in such fair and beautiful proportions, and of which, as we believe, the builder and maker is God.

But, whatever previous influences may have been in operation, which a full consideration of the subject should include, the claims of Dr. Freeman as the early, enlightened, and

successful advocate of Unitarian Christianity in America are beyond all question. The modesty and generosity of his spirit disposed him to refuse much of the honor in this service, which the opinion of his friends would award him. He said himself, in a note to a discourse on the death of his friend Dr. Howard, "Dr. Mayhew may with justice be denominated the first preacher of Unitarianism in Boston, and his religious society the first Unitarian Church;" — and, with his usual clearness, he adduces at some length a variety of testimony to this point.* Mr. Greenwood, in his beautiful delineation of the character of his colleague, exhibits his own views of the subject with great impartiality and discrimination. We refer our readers with satisfaction to this part of the discourse, particularly as presenting those moral qualities by which Dr. Freeman was pre-eminently distinguished as the advocate of his faith; and by which he conciliated the respect and even personal attachment of those, who most widely differed from him in his religious opinions.

Nor were these the only virtues, by which our departed friend and father adorned the gospel of his profession.

"Honesty and truth," says his colleague, "the most pure and transparent, associated in happy union with gentleness and urbanity, unaffected modesty, and real kindness and good will to all men, — these were qualities so distinctly marked on his every word and action, and even look, that no one could know him without reading them there. He was remarkably candid, but not, as it is sometimes expressed, candid to a fault. His consideration for the feelings of others saved his candor from hardening into rudeness. He uttered nothing but the

* As a part of this testimony, Dr. Freeman copies, by permission of the author, a letter of the elder President Adams to the Rev. Dr. Morse, in reply to his pamphlet entitled "American Unitarianism." "In the preface," writes Mr. Adams, "Unitarianism is represented as only thirty years old in New England. I can testify as a witness to its old age. Sixty-five years ago my own minister, the Rev. Lemuel Bryant, *Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, of the West Church in Boston*, the Rev. Mr. Shute of Hingham, the Rev. John Brown of Cohasset, and perhaps equal to all, if not above all, the Rev. Mr. Gay of Hingham, were Unitarians. Among the laity how many could I name, lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, farmers!"

"When, however," concludes Dr. Freeman, "I style Dr. Mayhew a Unitarian, I use the word in the sense in which it is commonly used in America, as denoting those Christians, who deny the doctrine of the Trinity, whether they believe the preëxistence of Christ or not."

truth, but he did not utter it unseasonably or harshly. He always spoke what he meant, but he never meant to wound or to offend; and if, in a moment of excitement, he did wound or offend, he was ready to pour out his oil and wine to soothe and heal. This union of plainness and kindness, of truth and benignity, was observable in both his conversation and his writings. He was always explicit, but seldom controversial. He would rather defend himself, than attack others.

"He was truly humble, but he was above all the arts of deception and double-dealing; and he could not be awed or moved in any way from self-respect and duty. He made all allowances for ignorance and prejudice and frailty; but arrogance he would not submit to, and hypocrisy he could not abide." — pp. 15, 16.

Again,

"Dr. Freeman possessed strong feelings and affections, and was capable of ardent and lasting attachments. His general manner, especially in his preaching, was so calm, sedate, and rational, with even occasional abruptness, that a transient observer might have been led to suppose that he was not apt to be moved, or that he was even deficient in feeling. But this would have been a mistake. His heart was full of feeling, which not unfrequently rose up to his eyes, and flowed out in tears. A similar mistake might have been made concerning his piety. He had seen so much external piety which was false and delusive, that he was induced to restrain the expression of his own religious emotions, as some might think, too carefully, and thereby permit it to be supposed that they did not exist. But his piety was real, vital, practical, ever-glowing. It was the sun of his internal world, which ripened the rich fruits of his life. All who knew him, knew that he was pious, truly and deeply so." — pp. 16, 17.

And in the following paragraph is happily delineated another beautiful trait, which all who had the happiness of knowing Dr. Freeman in either their childhood or youth, will at once recognise as his; to which certainly the writer of this notice can bear his own most grateful testimony.

"He loved children, and loved to converse with and encourage them, and draw out their faculties and affections. His manners, always affable and kind, were never so completely lovely as in his intercourse with them. Naturally and insensibly did he instil moral principles and religious thoughts into their minds, and his good influence, being thus gentle, was permanent. The same sweetness and consideration were manifested toward all who were his juniors. Nothing seemed to give him so much pleasure as to

see a virtuous, intelligent, and ingenuous youth. Toward young ministers and candidates for the ministry, his bearing was truly paternal. I have heard several of my brethren speak with grateful warmth of his early attentions to them; attentions which were valuable in themselves, and yet enhanced in value by their seasonableness." — pp. 17, 18.

As the urbanity and benevolence, which marked this amiable man, were the result of principle as well as impulse, he was kind to all; somewhat elaborate, perhaps, and studied, after the manner of the old school, in his courtesies to ladies and persons of distinction, but uniformly gentle and considerate to the humblest. It happens to the writer to have been frequently inquired of, in the course of the last ten years, as to his health and welfare by an aged woman, who has not seen him even in the pulpit for more than twenty years, but who still remembers with grateful respect his kindness, when full fifty years ago, soon after his settlement in Boston, he used to employ her as a seamstress. And there is another very aged inhabitant of this city, but formerly a resident on the Cape, who treasures up among the recollections of his youth the visits of Dr. Freeman to that part of the State, and who speaks of the welcome he was sure to receive for his agreeable manners and pleasant conversation. Such testimonies as these, simple and unbought, are in our estimation of more value than many elaborate praises, which interest, or dependence, the blind partiality of friendship, or mere regard to the decorum of circumstances may prescribe.

This practical good sense and kindness of heart, which were among the traits of this estimable man, were exhibited in the private not less than in the official relations he sustained. His own happy temperament was in accordance with the religion he taught; and he valued Christianity, not only for the redeeming influences of its truth upon the soul, but as a system of the soundest philosophy for the conduct of life. Hence its power over his character was seen in his contented spirit and satisfaction in his lot, the blessings of which, though mingled with no inconsiderable share of personal trials, he thankfully regarded as more than his deserts. It was seen, also, in an exemplary forbearance and self-command, in patience under disappointment, in gentleness amidst provocation, and in the consistent tenor of a useful life.

If in the familiarity or playfulness of conversation he loved to

utter what was pointed or strong, and sometimes amused his friends by a show of paradox not quite in keeping with the usual sobriety or even candor of his judgment, this must be counted among the innocent affectations, from which the wisest are not free. Let it be taken, too, as an evidence of his confiding friendship; and, as Mr. Greenwood happily expresses it, "his point was never envenomed, and he would have so many exceptions and qualifications to his paradoxes, as the conversation proceeded, that they lost their startling guise, and took the aspect of sober truths."

The publications of Dr. Freeman, though not numerous, have already established his reputation as a writer. "His volumes of Sermons," says Mr. Greenwood, "are highly and deservedly esteemed;" and he expresses the general testimony, when he adds, "that they are distinguished for the purity, simplicity, and perspicuity of their style." They who read them will find too, that "they abound in just observation, acute remark, lucid exposition, affectionate appeal, distinct and practical instruction, sincere and confiding piety, with passages of graphic beauty and quiet pathos."* We have not room to notice more particularly these Sermons. But, as a specimen of beautiful and successful biography, not less than as the true expression of a fraternal friendship, we may just refer to the Sermon preached after the funeral of the Hon. George Richards Minot. We have heard, that, in the delivery of that exquisite discourse, the preacher was so much affected by his grief for the loss of his friend, that, notwithstanding his usual self-command, he sat down in his pulpit and wept. We commend that discourse to the attention of the young. Old age, too, may read it, and mingle their tears with his. It holds up a most attractive example of youthful and manly virtue. Nor could it have been a small consolation to the friends of the amiable and accomplished subject of it, that, amidst the general sorrow for his early death, there was found a kindred spirit so tenderly to mourn, and yet so justly and so eloquently to honor him.

And he, who thus spoke of the virtues of others, has left multitudes behind him to honor, if not to celebrate, his own. His parishioners, through the long period of his retirement, manifested by unequivocal tokens their respect for his charac-

* For a particular notice of the "Eighteen Sermons and a Charge," see the Christian Examiner, New Series, No. 3, for July, 1829.

ter and their gratitude for services, he was no longer able to render. There are doubtless many among the younger portion of them, who had never seen his face; but with a cheerful liberality, as grateful to their aged Pastor, as the remembrance of it must now be to them, they continued the full support, which he had received in his years of most active usefulness. He no longer needs the sympathy or the respect, which cheered and brightened his declining days. But they are not forgotten of him. He has joined that company of friends and fellow-laborers, with whom he had lived pleasantly here; and whose memories, when they were gone, he delighted to cherish. Of these were Minot and Appleton, Chauncy and Howard, Everett and Eckley, Belknap and Clarke, Eliot and Lathrop; and to them, since, as we have seen, he was the friend of youth as of age, we should add, Cary, Thacher, and Buckminster. He has joined the great congregation of the good and faithful of every name, whose works he studied; whose virtues, amidst all their differences and all their errors he honored; and with whom he is himself united in the family of God in heaven.*

F. P.

* We add, chiefly from Mr. Greenwood's Discourse, a few incidents in the early life and professional labors of Dr. Freeman, which will be interesting, we doubt not, to many of our readers.

"His early life was not without incidents, though I am unable to state them with any particularity. The last year of his College life was spent during the troubles and strong excitements of the opening revolutionary war; and it is known, that his own feelings were so decidedly enlisted on the side of his native, and in opposition to the mother country, that he engaged in the disciplinary instruction of a company of men, which was raised on Cape Cod, for the purpose of joining the Colonial troops. Another incident which may be mentioned is, his chartering a small vessel, bearing a cartel, with the design of proceeding to Quebec, with his sister, to place her with her father, who was then in that city. On his passage he was captured by a privateer, and, having arrived at Quebec, he was detained there, through some misunderstanding or suspicion, on board a prison-ship for several months, and during a still longer time as a prisoner on parole. He suffered much inconvenience and trouble in consequence, but found opportunity, notwithstanding, to pursue his theological studies."

"Both at school and at college his morals were pure, and his scholarship, though not distinguished, respectable. He was in the habit of undervaluing his own youthful proficiency; but his few surviving cotemporaries do not speak of it so disparagingly. In after years he was certainly considered to be a ripe scholar, by those who could not well be mistaken in their judgment."

To these remarks by his successor, we may add, that for the

ART. IX. — *The Balance of Scriptural Evidence on Trinitarianism and Unitarianism, with the Explanations and Arguments usually advanced in Support of the two Systems.* By FRANCIS KNOWLES. Three Volumes. 12mo. pp. 1084. London. C. Fox & J. Mardon. 1835.

THE object of this work is, as expressed in the title-page, to collect from the Scriptures of the New Testament, the passages which are regarded as favoring the doctrines of the trinity of persons in the Supreme Being, and those which are thought to teach his unity, and then to put them in the balance, the one against the other. The books of the New Testament are taken up in course; every text which occurs of the first class is quoted, with remarks of various distinguished expositors, and sometimes of the compiler himself, and placed on the left-hand page; every text of the second class is in like manner placed on the right-hand page opposite. Thus the work proceeds, chapter by chapter, and verse by verse. He who desires to know what are the texts relied on by each side, from Matthew to Revelation, who would like to see them arranged and marked with the requisite annotations, and in such order that he may easily compare for himself their number and value as they stand side by side, will find great assistance from this book. It is designed as a help to the inquirer after truth, as one of the instruments by which his search may be facilitated; and although, of course, no such brief method can satisfy him who has leisure to look thoroughly into the question, and ability to go to the fountain-head, and who therefore will content himself only with an extensive and minute investigation, — yet a more casual inquirer may find decided benefit in the scheme here

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first thirty years of his ministry, in which he stood alone, the demands upon his time and resources, for the weekly services of his pulpit, were incessant. Partly from the peculiar relations in which he stood both to his Episcopal and Congregational brethren, he seldom, during that long period, sought or received assistance. And when it is considered with what faithfulness he sustained the public duties of his ministry, and the large number of sermons he must have written, it is evident that it was with no ordinary industry and ability he became "an excellent mathematician; was well acquainted with geography and history, especially of his own country; and could read with ease and pleasure, the Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages."

laid before him, and in the whole book a convenient table for reference.

The work is divided into three parts, — 1. on the Divine Being, 2. on Jesus Christ, 3. on the Holy Spirit. Each part is treated in the same manner, by a complete collection of all the texts on the subject from Matthew to Revelation. It is preceded by an "Introduction," containing a *Statement of Doctrine.* This consists of extracts from the most approved creeds and articles of the various Orthodox churches, and illustrations of eminent Orthodox writers, showing what the doctrine of the Trinitarians is, and, from distinguished Unitarian writers, showing what the doctrine of the Unitarians is. In this Introduction, and in numberless passages throughout the book, the compiler expresses freely his own opinions on the great questions. He argues in reply to the Trinitarian arguments, and he enforces by his own reasoning the opinions of his Unitarian friends, — thus not only holding the balance, but, in a sense, casting his own sword into the scale. The evidence of each book is closed by a summary, in a tabular form, exhibiting the number of times that certain titles or forms of speech are used. Some of the items are striking; and, although no very decisive inference should be drawn from such an arithmetical computation, yet it cannot but be, that it brings to light some curious facts, and tends to give a degree of confirmation to more weighty arguments. Thus, the following instances show precisely such results as would be expected, supposing the Divine unity to be the doctrine of the New Testament, but not such as would be expected on the other supposition. GOD is styled Father 266 times; God the Father, 11 times; God our Father, 11 times; One, 18; Highest, 5; Only Wise, 3; Father of Christ, 90; God of Christ, 15; &c. CHRIST is styled a child, 17 times; Son of God, 122; Son of Man, 89; Son of David, 17; Son of Joseph, 4; Son of Mary, 6; man, 72; mankind his brethren, 18; prophet, 14; mediator, 4; lamb, 22; lamb of God, 2; sent of God, 56; come from God, 8; received works from the Father, 10; raised from the dead by God, 26; at the right hand of God, 15; &c.

To a similar effect one is struck, in looking over a collection of texts like this, at the much greater number of pages occupied on the right hand than on the left; and by observing, that, in Part I., out of eleven of the books of the New Testament, not a single text is cited as favoring the Trinitarian doctrine;

and that, in Part III., eight of the books are found equally deficient in testimony. It is a very significant statement, that the Apostles wrote eight epistles, from which the ingenuity of theological polemics has never been able to extract an argument for the divinity and personality of the holy ghost; and eight from which it has been equally unable to draw an argument for a plurality of persons in the Godhead.

Mr. Knowles's work appears to have been executed with care, and in the account we have thus given of it, we have relied on his accuracy without pretending to verify his statements by personal examination. It is not likely to be reprinted in this country, but is one of those books which it would be convenient to have lying in the library of a student or theologian for reference and consultation.

H. W. JR.

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

Reprint of the Ante-James Vernacular Versions of the New Testament. — We wish to call the attention of our readers to proposals which have lately been issued by Messrs. James Munroe & Co., and Mr. William Pierce, for a reprint of Tyndale's Version of the New Testament, accompanied with all the variations of the principal versions that followed it (and of which it was the basis), previous to King James's Translation. Tyndale's Version was published in 1526.

"During the *eighty-five* years which elapsed" (we quote the Proposals) "to the appearance of King James's Version, the craving wants of the newly converted Protestant public were met by a series of similar works, viz. of Coverdale (little more than Tyndale revised), 1535; of Thomas Matthew (the reputed work of the martyr, John Rogers), 1537; of Cranmer, 1541; the Genevan, 1560; Bishops', 1568. Of the works here named, the Genevan alone, in its day by far the most popular, is said to be often met with even in our ancient and public collections. There is to all these versions such a common groundwork of diction, that their variations from each other and from Tyndale admit very easily of being incorporated as *marginal readings*, denoted by their respective initials; thus enlarging the whole volume perhaps less than a score of pages, and presenting in *substance* to the reader six versions instead of one. Modern amendments are, of course, out of account; the aim not being at all to gather in one the most perfect translation, but simply to show how near an approach to such had been made by the

successive labors of the Ante-James Translators. It will serve also to show to multitudes, the great, and by them unimagined, obligations of the authors of that version now exclusively read, to their predecessors severally and collectively."

These earlier versions are works of great rarity and cost. For every useful purpose, they are now offered in the most convenient form, collated together, so that the reader may at once see where they agree or differ. The plan is at the same time so simple and advantageous, that, when once suggested, it may seem strange that it has not been adopted before. We think the proposed publication important, as throwing light on the formation and character of King James's Translation, and on the state of theological knowledge and opinion in the age when this was made, and during the preceding century; and likewise as a valuable aid in studying the history of our language. The editor is Mr. J. P. Dabney, already advantageously known to the public by several publications; and we feel such confidence in his literary habits, faithfulness, and accuracy, that we should not desire to see the work in better hands. We hope he will receive all the assistance and encouragement that can be afforded him.

The price proposed ($1.00) strikes us as low, and scarcely adequate to repay the necessary labor of the editor, and the cost of publication, unless, indeed, the sale should be very extensive. Nothing is said of the typographical execution of the work. It should be printed in a neat manner, with good press-work, and on *durable* paper; for it is a work that one would wish to preserve in his library. But to this we are persuaded that its publishers will attend.

A Discourse delivered in Cohasset, on Tuesday, Oct. 13th, 1835; at the Interment of the Rev. JACOB FLINT, *Pastor of the First Church in that Town.* By CHARLES BROOKS, Pastor of the Third Church in Hingham, Mass. Hingham: Jedidiah Farmer. 1835. 8vo. pp. 20. — Another faithful servant of Christ has rested from his labors, after a long and useful ministry. We avail ourselves of Mr. Brooks's funeral sermon, an affectionate and just tribute to his memory, to glean and put on record the following brief notices of his life and character.

"The Rev. JACOB FLINT was born in the north Parish of Reading, Massachusetts, A. D. 1767. He worked upon his father's farm until he was twenty-one years of age; and then prepared for college at Phillips' Academy, Andover, under the tuition of the veteran teacher, Dr. Pemberton. Here, as at Cambridge College, where he graduated in 1794, he sustained an excellent character. He studied divinity under the direction of the Rev. Eliab Stone, of Reading. Having preached with acceptance in several churches, he received a call to settle in Quincy, (after preaching there for nearly a year,) which call he concluded to

refuse; and soon after received a unanimous one from the first Church and Society in Cohasset. Here he has ministered for thirty-seven years, to a people, who have listened with attention, and, we hope, with everlasting profit; a people from whom, he says in the sermon before quoted, he had received 'many favors and marks of respect, and, in seasons of affliction, that sympathy and attention, which made impressions on his heart too deep for time to efface.' "— pp. 10, 11.

He was not what is called a popular preacher, nor had he the gifts to become one; but his mind was solid, discriminating, and practical, as were also his discourses, some of which are before the public, and have been well received. With these qualities, added to his amiableness of disposition, and acknowledged private worth, he was able to retain to a degree beyond what is usual in these days, the affections and confidence of a united and happy people. A discourse delivered by him in 1823, in which he avowed his dissent from Calvinism, and the doctrine of the Trinity, was listened to favorably, and published at the request of the hearers. The cares of the ministry having become too great for his impaired health, an harmonious arrangement had been entered into, last year, between him and his parish, for the occasional supply of the pulpit, and the settlement of another Pastor as soon as might be.

His death was not only sudden and unexpected, but instantaneous. He left home Saturday afternoon, October 10th, with a view to give a labor of love to a young brother in the ministry, at Marshfield, on the following day. Passing through Scituate, he stopped at a friend's house to take tea, and observed, in reply to one who had accidentally alluded to the falling leaves of Autumn as emblematic of man's decay, "There is nothing melancholy in my mind connected with the Autumn. I have no gloomy ideas of death; and do not fear to die." No unusual illness warned him of his approaching end. He preached at Marshfield in the morning, administered the sacrament, and walked back from the church to his friend's house; which, however, he had no sooner entered than he was smitten with death while yet standing, and fell without a pain, or struggle, or the slightest apparent consciousness of the event.

"Happy hour to die!" to borrow the preacher's words, "when the faculties have not been weakened by age, nor the affections chilled by neglect. Happy hour to die! when the shadows of twilight begin to deepen over the path, and the autumn leaves are falling, and the fruits of life are ripe. Happiest hour of all to die! when Christ calls his ministering servant to the altar, there to spend his last hour; there, ere he ascends, to gather about him his fellow-immortals, there to lift up his soul in devout supplication, there to sing the high praises of God, there to unfold the divine will from the sacred oracles, there to break the bread of life, once more, to hungry souls, and there to remember that Divine Redeemer, who died that we might live." — p. 19.

The First Annual Report of the Association of Delegates from the Benevolent Societies of Boston. Read and accepted October 13th, 1835. To which is added the Constitution of the Association. Boston: 1835. 12mo. pp. 48. — This able Report is from the pen of Dr. Tuckerman, a high authority in all matters touching pauperism and mendicity; but we need not his authority to convince us, that the present plan of the Benevolent Societies of Boston to act, to a certain degree, in concert, or at least with a mutual understanding of each other's operations, must be productive of much good. It is their only available defence against the countless cheats and impositions, to which they are continually exposed in their well-meant, but often misapplied, efforts to relieve distress. We are glad to learn that no less than

"Twenty-six Societies are represented in the Association. Of these, however, two are for the support of infant schools, and two are especially for the employment of the female poor. Of the remaining twenty-two, whose objects are the collection and distribution of alms, twenty have made reports to the Association, of the names and residences of the poor whom they have visited and assisted, and generally of the kind and amount of the assistance given, and of the character and claims of those whom they have visited. In a book prepared for the purpose, these names are all entered in an alphabetical order, so that reference may in a moment be had to any name; and, in connexion with each name, it may be seen at a glance by what societies any individual, or family, was assisted from October of the last year, till nearly the present time; and, what are the judgments which were formed by the visiters of those who were thus brought under their notice or care." — pp. 3, 4.

By the monthly Reports it appears, we are told, that from October, 1834, to April, 1835, eleven hundred and thirty families, or individuals and families, were assisted; of whom only sixty-five were assisted oftener than three times, and only sixty-four more were assisted as often as three times. Meanwhile the monthly meetings of the Delegates are said to have been well attended, at which a perfect harmony of views and feelings was maintained, notwithstanding the religious and other differences of the bodies represented. It is understood, however, that the Delegates have no right to interfere in any manner with the free and independent action of the several Societies connected with the Association.

Several pages of the Report are filled with evidence taken from the Parliamentary examinations respecting the abuses of the Poor Laws in England, to many of which, it is conceded, benevolent societies, as hitherto conducted in this country, are almost equally exposed. The existence of funds known to be appropriated to the relief of the needy, has a tendency to invite application; many become applicants who would be unwilling to urge their necessities on a private benefactor; and where the provision is calculated

on, as is often the case, it operates, like the Poor Laws, as a machinery for perpetuating idleness, waste, and dependence. Add to this, that, as in the case of most legal provisions, what is bestowed by the agents of Benevolent Societies, instead of being received as alms, is often claimed as a rightful share of a fund which already belongs to the poor, and does but little, of course, to awaken and exercise in them grateful feelings, or to reconcile and bind them to the more favored classes. It is to guard against and prevent these abuses, that the Association of Delegates has been instituted in this city; their plan being to break up, as far as possible, street beggary, especially that of children; to refuse assistance to the idle, intemperate, and vicious, and to their families, except in cases of extremity; and in general to withhold aid where the relations of the poor are able to provide for them.

Of the duties of religious societies in regard to the poor, Dr. Tuckerman thus speaks:

"We think it should be regarded as an essential element in the constitution of a Christian church, that as many as may be of the poor should be gathered into it. The demands of the Gospel in this respect are not met by making a few of the most inconvenient seats in a church free to the poor. Nor would they be met, even by an appropriation of ample and convenient space and accommodations for the poor, while no direct measures were taken and maintained to bring the poor into the churches. A Christian church should not only be a body of worshippers composed alike of the rich and the poor. It should be an Association of the rich and poor, among other ends, for the specific purpose of cherishing together the sentiment of Christian brotherhood; of receiving the strongest impressions of relative duties; and of learning and feeling, that, amidst all the interferences and crossings, the discordance and conflicts of outward interests, there are yet interests of each and all, — of the highest and the lowest, — between which there is not only no interference, but through a supreme regard to which all earthly and opposing interests are to be reconciled and harmonized." — p. 33.

This doubtless would be a consummation devoutly to be wished, but there are difficulties in the way not noticed in the Report. We are happy to learn, however, that the good effects of the judicious arrangements entered into here on the great subject of pauperism, including as among the most efficient of these the Ministry at large, are beginning to manifest themselves, not only in the improved condition of the poor, but in a sensible decrease of their numbers.

The Christian Connexion. — This body has published an Almanac for the use of its own members throughout the United States, appended to which is a succinct account of the origin of

the denomination, its leading doctrines, and its present condition and prospects. We shall copy some of the details, as they appear to have been given on the latest and best authorities, and are not likely otherwise to come before many of our readers. The following is given as the commencement of the Christian Society in this country. Difficulties, it would seem, had arisen among the Methodists.

"Some were resolved on a more liberal government. To digest affairs, a general Conference was held in Baltimore in the year 1792; and, while engaged in revising the book of discipline, Mr. O'Kelley, convinced by Church history and his own observations, that creeds and disciplines, &c. do not tend to the unity of the faith nor the harmony of the Church, and, tired with altering and revising human systems, thus addressed them — 'Brethren, hearken unto me. Put away all other books, and forms, and let this (holding up the New Testament,) be the only criterion, and that will satisfy me.' Mr. John Dickens opposed him, openly declaring that the Scriptures were by no means a sufficient form of government; the Lord has left that business for the ministers to do, suitable to times and places. — After some debate the vote was taken, and Mr. O'Kelley lost his motion."

After losing another motion, the object of which was to reduce the power of the bishops, Mr. O'Kelley and his friends, numbering about a thousand, withdrew, resolving, as it is said, "to enjoy their religious liberty, though they might lose the society of their former brethren."

It is remarkable that the northern and western branches of this Connexion started up under somewhat similar circumstances, but without the slightest concert, not long after. The first church of the order in New England was gathered at Lynden, in Vermont, September, 1800, under the ministry of Dr. Abner Jones. In the West, Barton W. Stone, a leading elder, speaks thus of its origin and early history in that quarter:

"Of our separation from the Presbyterian church, and the cause which led to that event, you are informed in our "Apology," printed in 1805. From that book you learn that we assumed a new name, i. e. *The Springfield Presbytery.* Under this name we began to constitute churches; but soon found we were building up a new party, and thus adding to the black catalogue of sects in religion, already too numerous. We met in Conference on this subject, and unanimously determined to reject all party names, and to receive the name *Christian*, as the only name given by Divine authority to the ancient disciples. We at the same time unanimously agreed to reject all authoritative creeds and confessions, and to take the Bible alone, as the only infallible rule of faith, practice, and discipline. These our resolutions we publicly announced to the world. Strange to tell, yet it is true!! that when we had received the Bible alone, and the name of Christ, the different sects all proclaimed war against us; and some, who had been our warm

friends and advocates, while we had a party name, now became our avowed enemies and bitter opposers. We now understand what it is to suffer reproach and persecution *for the name of Christ*, for until we were called by this name, we were measurably free from those evils."

The existence and rapid spread of the Christians demonstrate how little foundation there is for the prejudice that liberal views of religion, and Unitarianism, are suited to none but men of cultivated minds, and the higher classes in large cities.

"Though this society," we are told, "arose in three different sections of the country, without the least knowledge of each other's existence, they unitedly fixed on two great and important points: i. e. they first renounced all human creeds; and, secondly, fixed on the holy Scriptures as the only written rule of faith and manners. This accounts for their all being Unitarians in faith, — as all rational men will be as soon as they have light and moral courage sufficient to throw off the imposing creeds of men and examine the plain word of God impartially. This doctrine is of spontaneous growth in the Holy Bible, — it is plain that there is *one God and one Mediator*, and a *Holy Spirit*. It is a doctrine founded in Christian experience, which is breathed forth in every prayer, song of praise, and holy aspiration of the humble convert. — We regard every experimental Christian in the world, in heart as a Unitarian, though creeds may contradict the doctrine. The doctrine of the Trinity is one of the most far-fetched, irrational, costly, and inconsistent doctrines which was ever imposed upon the church. A reform on this subject was called for, and our brethren have been pioneers in this good work. No point has been introduced and established with greater success, for four centuries, on which so much was depending and which is calculated to confer a greater blessing upon the Christian world."

Various estimates have been made of the probable number of this denomination, but the following, it is believed, may be relied on as the most authentic. It is by Elder Millard.

"From my late extensive travels west of the Alleghanies, I have received information which enables me to say there will be no hazard in the following computation of the numbers of the Christian Connexion. In Kentucky we have about 8000 members, and about 80 preachers. In Ohio, we have about 11,000 members, and about 140 preachers. In other sections west of the Alleghanies, I travelled only in Western Virginia and Indiana, but I received information which I think can be depended upon, as to the number of the Christians. West of the Alleghanies we have from 400 to 500 preachers, and from 40,000 to 45,000 communicants. East of the Alleghanies, we have as many preachers and brethren as on the west side. We may then safely calculate the whole number of the Christian Connexion in America to be from 80,000 to 100,000, and the whole number of our preachers to be from 800 to 1000. It may also be calculated, that the number of those who attend on our ministry statedly is not less than 350,000 souls."

Lives of the Twelve Apostles, to which is prefixed a Life of John the Baptist. By F. W. P. GREENWOOD. Second Edition. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1835. 16mo. pp. 252. — This is not a mere reprint, as will be seen in the title-page, a full and interesting life of John the Baptist having been added to the former collection. Now also, for the first time, is appended to the whole a selection of devotional poetry, chiefly taken from the late works of Keble and Bishop Mant, and appropriate to the days consecrated to the several Apostles in some churches. We may add, that the mechanical execution is such as to make it one of the neatest volumes which have come under our notice this season.

Prison Discipline Report. — The last Annual Report of the Prison Discipline Society is, as usual, full of interesting details respecting the statistics of crime, and the measures taken to punish and restore the criminal, and the progress of legal reform generally in the several States. We wish we had space to quote largely from its pages; but must content ourselves with giving two extracts, the first of which, from the chaplain of the Connecticut State Prison, is intended to correct a false impression, received from the Report of the French Commissioners.

"It was said, not long ago, in public debate in the British House of Lords, that education had no tendency to cause a decrease of crime; and, in proof of the assertion, reference was made to the increase which had taken place in the number of convicts in the Connecticut State Prison, in connexion with the means of education which were enjoyed in this State. It was claimed, that Connecticut, a New England State, enjoying, as she did, the avails of one of the largest school funds, in proportion to her population, to be found in the world, might be supposed to furnish, in the character of her inhabitants, a very fair specimen of what education, in its most liberal diffusion, and select influence, had a tendency to effect; and inasmuch as in this State the number of criminals had been constantly increasing, it was evident that education did not tend to the decrease of crime. Waiving all mention of what may have been the true causes of the increase in the number of criminals, let the following facts show what proportion of the convicts have probably been taught in the schools of this State, and what amount of education any of them, or all of them, possess: —

"1. One hundred and seven, out of 200 convicts, are not natives of Connecticut, and so, of course, should not be reckoned in the number of those who have been taught in the schools of this State.

"2. Forty-eight, in 200, are colored persons, most of whom are extremely ignorant; and all belong to a class whose education, in this country, is greatly neglected.

"3. Not one of the convicts ever confined in this Prison, has ever belonged to either of the liberal professions.

"4. Not one, of the 200, has received either a collegiate or classical education.

"5. Thirty-seven, in 200, could not read when sent to prison, and several besides were too ignorant to take the sense of what they read.

"6. About one half of the whole number were unable to write.

"7. But seventeen, in 200, could read, write, and cipher as far as the Single Rule of Three." — *Report*, p. 15.

Our other citation, taken from the communication by the chaplain of the New York State Prison at Auburn, will do much to encourage the friends of humanity in their hopes as to the efficacy of the penitentiary system in reclaiming offenders.

"I have examined all the letters ever received at this Prison, in answer to inquiries respecting discharged convicts, and find the whole number reported is 449. These I class, according to the accounts given of them in letters, as follows: —

Unreformed	78
Deranged	3
Somewhat improved	63
Much improved	76
Decidedly reformed, and sustaining good characters	229
	449

"We are thus driven to the alternative, either of supposing that gentlemen of integrity and standing in society, in almost every town in this district, have imposed upon the public, by representing too favorably the character of this despised and suspected class of men, or of admitting the fact that only about one sixth of them remain unimproved, and as bad as before, while *more than one half go out decidedly reformed, and become good citizens.*" — p. 18.

Luther's German Version of the Gospel of St. John, with an Interlinear English Translation, for the Use of Students. By Charles Follen, Professor of the German Language and Literature in Harvard University. Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1835. 12mo. pp. 160. — From the growing interest taken in the study of the German language in this country, we doubt not that this little work will receive a hearty welcome. It differs from the interlinear translations prepared by Mr. Hamilton and his followers in this, that the German collocation of words is not altered to accommodate it to the English, — an obvious improvement, as it seems to us. The testimony given in the Preface on the general question of the utility of this kind of translations to students of a foreign tongue, is entitled to great weight, coming as it does, from a teacher of such acknowledged eminence.

INDEX.

A.

Address delivered before the Ministerial Conference in Berry Street, inserted, 98.
A priori reasonings in support of natural religion shown to be inconclusive, 138.
Aspland's Sermons, reviewed and recommended, 321.

B.

Balance of Scriptural Evidence on Trinitarianism and Unitarianism, reviewed, 394.
Beecher, Dr., Trial of, for heresy noticed, 116 — his views of the authority of confessions of faith, 119 — his standing among the Orthodox, 121 — grounds of the charge of heresy made against him, 125 — his defence examined, 127.
Berry Street Conference, an Address delivered before it, inserted, 98.
Bigelow's Funeral Discourse at Rev. Pitt Clarke's Interment, 271.
Boston Book, reviewed, 314.
Brazer, Rev. Mr., his Dudleian Lecture on Natural Religion, inserted, 137.
Brigham, Dr., his Observations on the Influence of Religion on Health, reviewed, 302.
Brooks, Rev. Mr., his Discourse at Rev. Jacob Flint's Interment, 397.
Burnap's Lectures on Unitarianism, reviewed and recommended, 109.
Burial of the Dead, Keble's verses on, 170.

C.

Calvinistic Ethics, article on, 1 — is opposed to all literature, history, and common sense, 5 — misrepresents the connexion between religion and morality, 17 — and the nature and office of conscience, 19 — mistakes the argument from consciousness and experience, 22 — makes a mystery of the love of God, 25 — and of regeneration and moral progress, 33 — practical tendency of, 37.
Christian Connexion, present state of, 400.
Clarke, Rev. Pitt, some notice of, 271.
Coleridge's Table-Talk reviewed, 204 — his views of Gibbon, 206 — of the "greatest happiness principle," 207 — of inspiration, 208 — of the various sects, 209 — the defects of his mind and style, 211.
Communion, substitutes proposed for wine at, 395.
Conscience, views of, 19 — constitutes man a religious being, 151.
Convents, See *Monastic Institutions* — burning of Convent at Charlestown, 80.
Creation, account of, in Genesis, explained by Herder, 184.

D.

Deity of the Messiah not a doctrine of the Old Testament, 273. See *Messiah*.
Doane, Bishop, his edition of Keble's Christian Year, reviewed, 162.
Dudleian Lecture, Mr. Brazer's, on Natural Religion, inserted, 137.

E.

Ethics. See *Calvinistic Ethics*.
Evangelic Church in Germany, article on, translated from the Conver-

sations Lexicon, 44 — its high pretensions examined, 47 — notices of its leading supporters, 49 — its intolerance, 50 — Journal of the, its character, 52.

F.

Female Convents, &c. by M. de Potter, noticed, 54. See *Monastic Institutions.*
Flint, Rev. Jacob, some notice of, 397.
Follen, Professor, his Interlinear Version of Luther's Gospel of St. John, noticed, 404.
Freeman, Rev. Dr. James, article on, 383 — notices of his life, 385 — his services in the cause of Unitarianism, 387 — his character, 389 — his merits as a writer, 391 — anecdotes of his early life, 392.

G.

Germany, state of religion in, 41 — tendencies to infidelity there, *ib.* — the Evangelic Church in Germany and its champions, 44 — its ecclesiastico-political character and systematic intolerance, 50.
German Theology, some account of, 172 — Herder's services in reforming it, 174 — the influence of English divines upon it, 176.
Gibbon, Coleridge's strictures on, 206.
God, Hebrew use of the word, as an appellative, 285, 293.
Greenwood's Sermon on Rev. Dr. Freeman, reviewed, 383 — his Lives of the Apostles, noticed, 403.

H.

Health, Dr. Brigham's observations on the Influence of Religion upon, 302 — effects of protracted meetings on health, 306 — of protracted meetings for children, 308 — tendency of undue religious excitement to produce insanity, 310.
Hemans, Mrs., the representative of a new school of poetry. See *Poetry of Mrs. Hemans.*
Hengstenberg, and the Journal of the Evangelic Church in Germany, 44 — notices of Hengstenberg's birth, studies, and labors, 44 — merits of his Christology of the Old Testament, 46 — answer to his article on the Deity of the Messiah in the Old Testament, 274.
Herder's Theological Opinions and Services, article on, 172 — one of the reformers of German theology, 174 — his free spirit, 175 — his views of theology as a science, 178 — his views of revelation and inspiration, 181 — and of the Scriptures, 183 — his exposition of the account of the Creation, 184 — his views on the Hebrew Prophets and prophecy, 191 — and of miracles, considered as an evidence of Christianity, 194 — his views of the divinity of Christ, with his exposition of the proem of John's Gospel, 197.
Holy Land, its geographical position, 363 — its historical associations, 364 — notices of Lamartine's Pilgrimage to, 368.
Hymns, Springfield Collection of, noticed and commended, 133.

I.

Insanity, tendency of religious excitement to induce it, 310.
Inspiration, Herder's views of, 181 — Coleridge's, 208.
Intolerance, the grounds of, exposed, 29.

J.

Jackson, Dr. James, Jr., Memoirs of, reviewed, 83 — notices of his early life, 84 — correspondence with his father just before sailing for Europe, with a view to finish his education, 87 — becomes earnestly engaged in M. Louis's new method of medical observation, 91 — his activity in relation to the cholera, 93 — his death, 95.

K.

Keble's Christian Year, reviewed, 162 — extract from his "Morning," 166 — extract from his verses on the First Sunday after Christmas, 167 — his poem on Whitsunday, *ib.* — his "Burial of the Dead," 170.
Knowles's Balance of Scripture, reviewed, 395.

L.

Lamartine's Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, reviewed, 362 — a poem rather than a journal, 368 — his description of Tyre, 369 — of the Lake of Galilee, and the river Jordan, 371.
Laymen, an address on the best means of interesting them in the support of religious institutions, 98 — what belongs to their province in this matter, 100 — coöperation recommended, 103 — influence of the clergy, 106.
Louis, M., his new method of medical observation, 91.

M.

Messiah, Deity of, not a doctrine of the Old Testament, 273 — Hengstenberg's authorities to the contrary explained and set aside, 275 — Psalm, cx. *ib.* — Psalm ii. 278 — Zech. xiii. 7, 281 — Zech. xii. 10, 282 — Ps. xlv. 7, 285 — Isaiah iv. 2, 289 — Isaiah vii. 14, 290 — Isaiah ix. 6, 292 — Isaiah xi. 4, 295 — Micah v. 2, 296 — Daniel vii. 13, 298.
Milton's Paradise Lost, remarks on, 335.
Miracles, considered as evidence of Christianity, Herder's views of, 194.
Missionaries. See *Sandwich Islands.*
Monastic Institutions, article on, 54 — their origin, 55 — notice of St. Antony, 56 — character of the early monks, 57 — of monastic vows and rules, 60 — institution of nunneries, 62 — licentiousness of monasteries in the Middle Ages, considered, 64 — apologies for the monks, 66 — how far they were the patrons of learning, 68 — institution of the Mendicant orders, 71 — suppression of the religious houses in England, 75 — their decline in other countries, 77 — burning of the Convent at Charlestown, 80.
Morning, Keble's verses on, 165.

N.

Natural Religion, review of the argument for, 137 — the *à priori* reasonings shown to be inconclusive, 138 — the proper method strictly inductive, 143 — difference between the ancient and modern skeptics on this subject, 149 — argument illustrated, 147 — man essentially a religious being 149 — belief in a God universal, 150 — man constituted a religious being by conscience, 151 — and by the natural sentiments of his heart, 155 — and by his inherent wants and capacities, 156 — a law written on the heart, 161.
New Testament, proposals to reprint the early English Versions of, 396.
Nunneries. See *Monastic Institutions.*

O.

Old Testament, passages of, adduced in support of the Trinity, explained, 275. See *Messiah.*

P.

Philip Van Artevelde, Taylor's, reviewed, 245 — its merits and demerits stated and illustrated, 249.
Plato's opinion of the ancient poets, 331.
Poetry of Mrs. Hemans, article on, 328 — belongs to a new school, 329 — ancient poetry destitute of the element of religious faith, 330 — the influence of Christianity, as it is itself purified, to elevate poetry, 335 — the ancient poets had not just conceptions of moral sublimity, 337 — their degrading views of women and domestic life, 341 — Christianity has given us sublime views of suffering, 349 — and clothed the inanimate world with new associations, 351 — our more extended acquaintance with man, 358.
Potter, M. de, a compilation from his Memoirs of Scipio de' Ricci, reviewed, 54.
Prison Discipline Society's Report, 403.
Prophets and prophecy, Herder's views of, 191.
Protracted meetings, 306.

R.

Record of a School, noticed, 270.

Rectitude, origin of our idea of, 10 — other theories respecting it, 14.
Reed and Matheson, a Narrative of their Visit to the American Churches, reviewed, 257 — their opinions respecting American revivals, 258 — and some of the Temperance measures, 262 — their misrepresentations of the state of Unitarianism exposed, 264.
Regeneration, what? 33.
Revivals, Dr. Reed's judgment of them, 258 — further remarks on, 309.
Reynolds' notices of the Sandwich Islands, 218, 239.
Ricci, Scipio de', notice of a compilation from his MSS., 54.

S.

Sandwich Islands, a full account of the mission there, 215 — condition and history of the islands prior to the mission, *ib.* — character and influence of foreign residents, 217 — objects which the missionaries proposed to accomplish, 220 — indoctrinating the natives with Calvinism, 221 — translating and printing the Bible and other books for the natives, 224 — establishment of schools, 226 — history of the mission and its results, 229 — apparent success, 231 — reverses and ultimate failure of the plan, 237 — heavy charges against the missionaries, 239.
Scriptures, the, not the original source of our ideas of right, 22 — Herder's views of, 183.
Sermons, Aspland's, reviewed, 321.
Springfield Collection of Hymns, noticed, 133.

T.

Table-Talk. See *Coleridge.*
Taylor's Philip Van Artevelde, reviewed, 245 — his merits and defects as a poet, 247.

U.

Unitarianism, Burnap's Lectures on, reviewed, 109 — Herder's views of the divinity of Christ, with his exposition of the proem to John's Gospel, 197 — Dr. Reed's misrepresentation of the state of American Unitarianism exposed, 264 — Deity of Messiah not taught in Old Testament 273 — early history of Unitarianism in New England, 387 — balance of Scriptural Evidence on this subject, 393.

V.

Village Choir, Memoirs of a New England, noticed, 136.
Visit of Reed and Matheson. See *Reed and Matheson.*

W.

Wardlaw's Christian Ethics, reviewed, 1 — his fundamental error, 3.
Western Messenger, noticed favorably, 268.
Whipping children, a "new measure," 303.
Whitsunday, Keble's lines on, 167.
Worcester, J. E., his Dictionary, noticed, 135.
Wordsworth's Yarrow Revisited, and other Poems, reviewed, 375 — his merits as a poet, 382.

Y.

Yarrow Revisited, Wordsworth's, reviewed, 375.